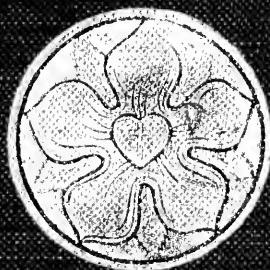


A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America

By J. L. NEVE, D. D.



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A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America



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Professor in the Western Theological Seminary, Atchison, Kan.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

By JOSEPH STUMP, A.M.

Author of "Bible Teachings," "The Life of Philip Melanchthon," etc.

BURLINGTON, IOWA.
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1904.

INTRODUCTION FOR GERMANY.

THIS "Brief History of the Lutheran Church of America" had its origin in a practical need. It is necessary that students preparing for the ministry in the Lutheran Churches of America should be informed concerning the history of the congregations of the Lutheran Confession in the various states of that land. They are to learn something concerning the immigrations which from the middle of the 17th to the 19th century carried the Lutheran Confession to those shores, and concerning the faithful men who succeeded in gathering the first congregations and organizing the first synods. They are to become acquainted with the various larger synodical bodies which have been formed in the process of time, and their distinctive character. They are to become informed concerning the doctrinal controversies which have been waged there, and which have in part led to definite formulations of doctrines. This is the chief purpose of the present volume. In its concise form, restricting itself, as it does, to the chief events of this history, presenting the differences between the various groups with the greatest possible objectivity, and giving a reprint of the most important doctrinal decisions, together with ample statistical tables containing the latest figures, it meets a want which has been felt in the most varied circles of the German fatherland. As we must in general turn our attention more and more to the ecclesiastical conditions of America, so in particular we sons of the German Reformation must take an interest in the Churches and synodical organizations which there value the Lutheran Confession. Though we do not lack larger works of Church History from which we can study the history of the Lutheran Church of America — I mention in particular the "History of the Evangelical Lutheran

Church in the United States," by Prof. Henry Eyster Jacobs, of Philadelphia (New York, 1893)—this outline is nevertheless adapted not only to give a rapid survey, but to reach a larger circle of readers. I take pleasure, therefore, in accompanying this work of Prof. J. L. Neve, who was at one time an esteemed attendant upon my lectures at Kiel, with these introductory words; and I hope that the book may have a kindly reception on German soil also, and may aid in giving us a closer view and an intelligent conception of the conditions in the Lutheran ecclesiastical bodies of America.

DR. KAWERAU.

Breslau, May 4, 1904.

PREFACE.

THREE have appeared in recent years, from the pen of men well qualified for the task, a number of excellent works bearing on the history of the Lutheran Church in America.¹ For those persons, therefore, who have the time and the patience to study extended presentations of the subject, a further work would not be necessary. But in my judgment there is still wanting a book which, without entering too much into local matters or losing itself in details, presents a birds-eye view of the development of our Church in this country. To give such a view in the form of a general outline is the object which I have kept before me in writing the following pages. In order that all repetitions might be avoided, I have made a liberal use of references in the text to other paragraphs which may be consulted in order to complete the picture. A condensed account of institutions and men, and some statistical matter, have at the same time given to the work the character of a hand-book, which will furnish information on all important questions connected with the present state of the Lutheran Church in America.

This "Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America" is the outgrowth of lectures which for a number of years past I have delivered before the students of the German department of the "Western Theological Seminary." Those who are preparing themselves for the office of the ministry in the Lutheran Church in America have need of such instruction. As a result of the careful study of the history of the different synods and their relations to one another, many important questions which later on will press upon them for solution, will solve themselves.

1) See the Literature given on page 17.

Such a study will also enable them to form a correct and intelligent judgment concerning the various tendencies within our Church.

In preparing this little volume I have kept in mind the fact that it might be found useful as a text-book in the theological seminaries of the Lutheran Church in our land. I have therefore endeavored to make my presentation as objective as possible, and have submitted it to competent representatives of the different synods for their careful examination of those parts which refer to their respective bodies: to Dr. Nieum, the history of the General Council; to Dr. Stellhorn, that of the Ohio Synod; to Pastor Fritschel and Dr. Deindoerfer, that of the Iowa Synod;¹ to Drs. Lund and Lenker, that of the Norwegians and Danes; to Dr. Andreen, that of the Swedes.²

I confess also, that while engaged on this work, I ventured to hope that this little book, containing, as it does, a rapid survey of the history of the Lutheran Church on this continent, might prove of value as a text-book to the Church historians and their students at the German universities. In the ranks of the pastors in Germany there is too little acquaintance with American Church history. Lectures are given in the universities on the history of missions; and certainly the students should not remain without a clear conception of the mighty developments which have taken place in the Church in a land which in political respects has come to occupy so large a place in public interest. The Lutherans in America, having come from the State-church, and being obliged to accommodate themselves to entirely new conditions, have a history behind them which is particularly full of interest. Tendencies which in Germany existed indeed, but which for lack of occasion did not there come to an earnest discussion of their differences, met here on a free-church soil, and engaged

1) Including those paragraphs of the discussion of the Missouri Synod in which the history of Iowa touches that of Missouri.

2) Dr. Graebner had promised to examine the part which treats of the Missouri Synod, but at the last moment he found himself unable to do so on account of sickness.

in controversies which we cannot study without gaining a wider horizon and new points of view for the whole realm of theology. One need only call to mind the theological activity of Dr. Krauth, or study the differences between the Missouri and the Iowa synods, or occupy one's self with the controversy on predestination, in order to see the correctness of my assertion, that the points in dispute are worthy of the consideration of every student of theology.

To write a text-book is at once easy and difficult. It is easy if one is satisfied simply to extract the chief points from a larger book; but it is difficult, if one endeavors, as I have endeavored in this book, by a careful sifting of all the available material to reduce the essential elements, in accordance with a definite plan, to a complete and harmonious whole.

At the same time this book has been written also for the laymen of the various synods of our land; in fact, for all who desire to inform themselves concerning the history of our Church in this country, but who are unable to undertake the study of more extensive works.

God grant that this book may be of service to our Lutheran Church and to all who desire to become acquainted with her history in America.

J. L. NEVE.

Christmas, 1903.

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LITERATURE.

FOR the benefit of those who desire to make a more detailed study of the history of the Lutheran Church in America and of the different positions of the various synods than is possible by means of this outline, we refer to a number of books and pamphlets which may be studied with particular profit.

First of all we mention the "Lutheran Cyclopedie" by Jacobs and Haas, which is an excellent book of reference on practically all the questions that come into consideration. Furthermore, we refer to four works which give a connected history of the Lutheran Church in America as a whole: Dr. E. J. Wolf: "The Lutherans in America"; translated into German by Dr. J. Nicum. It is written for the people. Dr. H. E. Jacobs: "A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," being volume IV in the "American Church History Series." Geo. J. Fritschel: "Geschichte der luther. Kirche in Amerika." This work is based on that of Dr. Jacobs, but in the second volume it is almost entirely independent. It is especially valuable for the manner in which it exhibits the services of Loehe in connection with the founding of the Missouri Synod, and later of the Iowa Synod. It is clearly arranged, and is written from the point of view of the Iowa Synod, notably in those sections which refer to the relations between the Synods of Iowa and Missouri. Dr. A. L. Graebner: "Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche in America," Volume I, down to the organization of the General Synod. This work, which enters very fully into details, though somewhat at the expense of perspective, shows historical talent. We trust that in the second volume, which we hope will not be long delayed, the author, who is professor in the Theological Seminary of the Missouri Synod, will succeed in maintaining the same objectivity which marks the first volume. To be sure, in the second volume, which will treat of the conflicts between the various synods, this will not be an easy task.

We mention also a few historical works on individual synods: Dr. J. Nicum: "Geschichte des New York Ministeriums"; Dr. T. E. Schmauk, "History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania"; Hochstetter: "Geschichte der Missouri Synode"; J. Deindorfer: "Geschichte der Iowa Synode"; Peter and Schmidt: "Geschichte der Ohio Synode"; J. Mgebroff: "Geschichte der Texas Synode."

The "Hallesche Nachrichten" contain valuable material for the times of Mühlenberg (cf. § 4, 3). On the basis of this voluminous correspondence, Dr. W. J. Mann wrote "The Life and Times of Mühlenberg," and the German work, "Heinrich Melchior Mülenberg's Leben und Wirken."

Among the books which treat of the position of the individual synods in doctrine and practice, we mention first the "Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the General Bodies of the Lutheran Church in America" (Luth. Publ. Soc., Phila.), written by representatives of the various synods.—A booklet which aroused general opposition when it appeared was J. Grosse: "Unterscheidungslehren der hauptsächlichsten sich lutherisch nennenden Synoden." This work, which is written from an exclusively Missourian standpoint, and which may be serviceable in defining the points at issue between the different Lutheran Synods, is misleading for one who does not at the same time make himself thoroughly acquainted with the history of the controversies in question. Compare with respect to the Ohio Synod, "The Error of Missouri," by Tressel, and with this compare again a Missourian treatise, say, Dr. Walther: "Traktat von der Gnadenwahl"; with respect to the Iowa Synod, compare "Die Unterscheidungslehren der Synoden von Iowa und Missouri," by Dr. S. Fritschel; with respect to the General Council, the pamphlet of Dr. J. Nicum, "Notgedrungene Abwehr der neuesten missourischen Angriffe auf das General Konzil"; and in order to judge properly of the criticism of the General Synod, compare "The Trial of L. A. Gotwald" by Dr. Gotwald, a work called forth by another occasion.

A few biographies may also be mentioned here: Dr. Spaeth: "Memorial of B. M. Schmucker"; Dr. Spaeth: "Dr. Mann"; Dr. Spaeth: "Charles Porterfield Krauth," two volumes, of which one has been published; Günther: "Ein Lebensbild von Dr. Walther"; and an autobiography by Dr. Sihler.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY, BEFORE THE ORGANIZATION OF LUTHERAN SYNODS IN AMERICA.

§ 1. The Dutch Lutherans.

THE first Lutherans who emigrated to America came, not from the land of the Lutheran Reformation, but from Holland, where since 1583 Calvinism had forced Lutheranism into the background. We hear of these emigrants as early as 1643, although the first organized congregation was of later date. Indeed, in the matter of formally organized congregations the Swedes, who came later, take precedence. It must be remembered that the Dutch Lutherans who came over were few in number, and came in company with their much more numerous Reformed countrymen. Under the direction and protection of the Dutch West Indian Company¹ they arrived together and settled on the island of Manhattan, where they founded the city of New Amsterdam, which is now New York. The colony grew, especially under the governorship of PETER STUYVESANT. After the Reformed had long since possessed a church and pastors, the Lutherans finally believed themselves to be strong enough to build their own church and to call a pastor. They sent in a request for a pastor in 1653. But Stuyvesant, who was a strict Calvinist after the order of the Synod of Dort, and was spurred on by two Reformed preachers (Megapolensis and Drisius), declared that in these new possessions of Holland he could not and would not tolerate any other religion than the true Reformed. He even forbade the Lutherans to hold private services in their homes. Any one who ventured to read a sermon in such private services, made himself subject to

1) For details, see Fritchel, Vol. I., p. 22. Jacobs, p. 46.

a penalty of 100 pounds Flemish; and any one who listened to such a sermon was to be punished with a fine of 25 pounds. In some cases those who disobeyed were cast into prison. The Lutherans complained of this severity to the government at Amsterdam. While the government did not approve Stuyvesant's persecutions, it spoke so indefinitely, that the governor and the Reformed preachers felt encouraged to continue their oppressions.

In 1657 the REV. JOHN ERNST GOETWATER, sent by the Lutheran consistory at Amsterdam and anxiously looked for by the oppressed Lutherans, arrived, and began his activity as pastor and preacher among the Dutch Lutherans in New Amsterdam. But at the instigation of the Reformed, he was at once taken before the magistracy of the city, and forbidden to exercise any of the functions of his office. The government of Holland, to which a report of these transactions was at once sent, did not desire a strengthening of the Lutheran element; and therefore, while it deemed it prudent for political reasons to deal as leniently as possible, it approved the actions of Stuyvesant and his advisers. The latter thereupon ordered Pastor Götwater to take the next ship for Holland. This order had to be repeated several times before it was obeyed. But at last, after a quiet ministry of about two years, this Lutheran pastor, who was so obnoxious to the authorities, sailed for home.

In the year 1664 New Amsterdam fell into the hands of the English, and received the name New York, in honor of the Duke of York, later King James II of England. Colonel Nicolls, who had taken the city, became the first governor. This event brought to the Lutherans the deliverance for which they longed; for among the regulations of the duke was one declaring, that "no person should be molested, fined or imprisoned, for differing in matters of religion." They besought the governor for a pastor from Holland; and their request was willingly granted. But it was only after several years of waiting that they finally, in 1669, secured such a pastor in the person of MAGISTER JACOB

FABRICIUS. The choice of this man was unfortunate. He was domineering, and of so violent a temper that he was obliged to resign, first in the Albany congregation which formed part of his parish, and then, soon afterwards, in New York, where a church building was being erected. (Later, however, Fabricius labored successfully among the Swedes.)

Fabricius was succeeded by BERNHARD ARENSIUS (from 1671-1691), "a gentle personage and of very agreeable behaviour," who in the midst of times of turmoil (of war between England and Holland and of insurrections against unpopular governors and a Roman Catholic king), labored diligently and faithfully. After his death, the congregations in New York and Albany remained without a pastor for ten years,—a severe test of their vitality. At last MAGISTER RUDMAN, who had hitherto labored among the Swedes, accepted a call (1702). Although his pastorate was of short duration, his ability to organize and build up was quickly felt throughout his very extensive parish.

In 1703 he resigned the congregation, in which the Germans soon preponderated. He was succeeded by JUSTUS FALCKNER, the first German Lutheran pastor in America of whom we have any knowledge (§ 3, 1). At this point, however, the history of the Dutch Lutherans and the early history of the German Lutherans overlap. We therefore interrupt our narrative at this point.

§ 2. The Swedish Lutherans.

With a just prescience of the important place which America would one day occupy in commercial affairs, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS had planned to found colonies in this country. All classes of the Swedish people were enthusiastically in favor of the enterprise. But it was not until after the death of the great king, that the plan was carried out. In the year 1638 two Swedish vessels, after a voyage of sixteen months, cast anchor on the shores of North America

in the neighborhood of what is at present LEWES, DELAWARE. A second expedition arrived in 1639, bringing with it a clergyman named TORKILLUS, the first Lutheran pastor to set foot upon American soil. The newcomers purchased from the Indians a strip of land which was to remain forever the possession of the Swedish crown, and built Fort Christiana, in which public services were temporarily held. The first churches reared were constructed in such a manner as to be useful, in case of necessity, for defense against the Indians. But this precaution was found to be unnecessary. The settlers, by their kindness, gained the good-will of the Indians. PASTOR JOHN CAMPANIUS, who arrived with a third expedition in 1643, energetically carried on missionary work among the natives and translated Luther's Small Catechism into their language.

After an existence of only seventeen years, this flourishing colony fell into the hands of the Dutch (1655); and the Swedes on the Delaware came, even though only for a period of nine years, UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF STUYVESANT. They were, indeed, permitted to abide by the Augsburg Confession; but further immigration from Sweden ceased, and the pastors, with the exception of one, LARS LOCK, all returned to the old country. Amid indescribable hardships this solitary remaining pastor attended to the duties of his office in the widely separated settlements. In a rude canoe he traveled up and down the stream, which was often turbulent; and his life was frequently in danger from Indians who prowled in the thicket. It is true, in the year 1677 PASTOR FABRICIUS¹ came to his assistance. But after five years Fabricius became blind; and with all the faithful devotion of their pastors, the spiritual care of the Swedes was necessarily insufficient.

After the death of these two pastors the condition of the Lutheran Swedes was most discouraging. Requests for pastors were sent to the Lutheran consistory in Holland, and to their fatherland, of which their knowledge by this

1) See preceding section.

time had become almost entirely traditional; but these requests remained unanswered. For the nourishment of their spiritual life they possessed nothing but the Bible, hymn-books, and books of devotion; and these had through long usage become badly worn. At last, when their spiritual need had reached its climax, they were providentially enabled to bring a letter to the personal attention of KING CHARLES XI of Sweden. In this letter they begged for pastors, 12 Bibles, 3 books of sermons, 42 books of devotion, 100 hymn-books, and 200 catechisms. The letter made a deep impression on the king. He circulated copies of it among the nobility and the ecclesiastical authorities of his kingdom. And at last, in 1696, a ship, carrying the pastors (Rudmann, Björk and Auren) and a sufficient supply of books for the Swedes who so anxiously awaited them, was ready to sail. Rudman became pastor of the congregation at WICACO (now Philadelphia), where before long the GLORIA DEI Church, so frequently mentioned later, was dedicated. Björk took charge of the congregation in WILMINGTON, which built the church of "The Holy Trinity" (better known to-day as "The Old Swedes Church"). Unfortunately both these churches, which once resounded with the testimony of faithful Lutheran pastors, have fallen into the hands of the Episcopalians.

From this time on, Swedish pastors continued to come to America. Among the most influential may be mentioned John Dylander, Provost Acrelius (who wrote a valuable history of the Swedes in America), and PROVOST DR. WRANGEL, a very capable man, who remained in close touch with Mühlenberg and the Germans. The development of the congregational life was hampered, however, by the fact that all the pastors sent from Sweden remained under the spiritual jurisdiction of the king, who through his archbishop appointed them to their posts and recalled them again. Thus the men who were best qualified were often obliged to return home after they had just begun to obtain a thorough grasp on their work and had mastered the English language, a knowledge of which had become more and

more essential on account of the young people. The recall of Wrangel, whose ministry had been so successful, and whose return to Sweden was a blow from which the congregations never recovered, produced bad feeling. The congregations insisted on greater independence from the authorities of the fatherland, and emphasized the necessity of having English-speaking pastors. When the Swedish crown thereupon ceased to send them pastors, their fate was sealed. They saw no other way to obtain pastors but to seek them from the Episcopalians, with whom they already stood in friendly relations. This explains why the historic churches mentioned above are no longer in the hands of the Lutheran Church.

§ 3. The German Lutherans.

I. FIRST TRACES OF GERMAN LUTHERANS IN AMERICA.

— It was not till after the beginning of the eighteenth century that Germans in America were sufficiently numerous to think of founding congregations. The reason for this late immigration from the land of the Reformation is to be found in the condition of Germany after the Thirty Years' War. The country was devastated, and so lacking in uniform government, that there could be no thought of planting colonies in distant lands. And the individuals and small companies of travelers who first found their way to America were not even Lutherans, but Quakers, Mennonites, Mystics, Chilias, "Awakened Ones," "Inspired Ones," fanatics and separatists of every kind, who sought in Penn's colony freedom from the oppressions of the State-churches.

But about the beginning of the eighteenth century a desire to emigrate became manifest in Germany. In the Dutch congregation in New York, to which, as we have seen, JUSTUS FALCKNER was called (1703), there were many Germans. They were still more numerous in GERMAN-TOWN. In FALCKNER'S SWAMP (now New Hanover, Pa.) there is said to have been a German Lutheran church as

early as 1703. At this point we will insert a few remarks concerning Justus Falckner, mentioned above, the first German Lutheran pastor in America. Born in 1672, as the son of a pastor at Zwickau in Saxony, he studied theology under A. H. Francke at Halle. As a student he composed the hymn contained in German and English hymn-books, "Rise, ye children of salvation" ("Auf ihr Christen, Christi Glieder"). Unwilling to assume the responsibility of the ministerial office, he, together with his brother Daniel, became a real estate agent for William Penn, and lived quietly in the forests at Germantown. Here he received from Mr. Rudman the call to the Dutch congregation in New York. He was ordained in 1703 in the Gloria Dei Church at Wicaco by the Swedish pastors (the first Lutheran ordination in America). His parish covered about two hundred miles, and he served it faithfully till his death in 1723. One need only read the sensible little prayers which he was in the habit of adding under his record of official acts in the church record¹ in order to agree with Graebner's estimate of the man: "It is an exceedingly beautiful and lovable character that is revealed to us in Justus Falckner during the twenty years of his activity: a man of excellent gifts, wide culture, refined mind, sincere piety, and decided Lutheran standpoint, active and faithful in the discharge of his official duties; in short, a genuine pastor."

1) One of these little prayers after a baptism reads: "O Lord, Lord, let this child's name be and remain recorded in the Book of Life through Jesus Christ. Amen." Another reads: "O God, let this child be and remain a child of eternal salvation through Christ. Amen." After baptizing a negro child, he wrote: "O Lord, merciful God, who regardest not the person of men, but with whom in every nation he that feareth thee and worketh righteousness is accepted, let this child be and remain clothed with the white robe of righteousness through Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of all men. Amen." How appropriate also is the prayer which he wrote in the record after baptizing five children of immigrants from the Palatinate, who had been born on the ocean: "Lord, almighty God and Father in Jesus Christ, who by Thy wondrous power hast let these children be born on the ocean, and hast marvelously preserved them alive, guide them by Thy grace over the turbulent sea of this world, that they may land at last in the haven of the New Jerusalem above, where all tyranny and all false tyrannical mercy shall have an end, through Jesus Christ. Amen."

2. A NEW STAGE OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION began before the first decade of the eighteenth century closed. No part of Germany suffered more than the Palatinate. Here, with little intermission, fire and sword continued to rage after the Thirty Years' War was over. For a whole generation Louis XIV ravaged this beautiful land with his armies. When, finally, he saw that he could not hold it permanently, he resolved, before leaving it, to devastate it utterly. His general gave its inhabitants, to the number of half a million, three days in which to save their life by flight. And soon, in the midst of a cold winter, the snow-covered roads were black with hordes of people who fled in every direction, and who, looking behind them, beheld their possessions, their cities and villages, their orchards and vineyards, going up in fire and smoke. Thousands of these refugees found a temporary home in England, where QUEEN ANNE received them kindly, and made arrangements for their settlement in America. In neighboring parts of Germany, in Hesse, Baden, and Württemberg, the eyes of many were also turned to America, and numbers of them joined the fugitives from the Palatinate. Indeed, whole villages, led by their pastors, crossed over to England, and took part in a great drama of emigration, such as the world has not since seen.

3. GERMAN LUTHERAN SETTLEMENTS IN NEW YORK STATE were the result of these migrations. The transportation of these vast masses to America was undertaken by the British crown. On New Year's day, 1709, one of the first of these trains of immigrants, under the leadership of the Lutheran pastor JOSHUA KOCHERTHAL of Landau in the Lower Palatinate, landed in New York. By order of Queen Anne, this congregation, consisting of sixty-one persons, was settled on the west bank of the Hudson (near what is now Newburgh). Two thousand acres of land were divided among them. The queen also promised to give twenty pounds a year and five hundred acres of land for the support of a Lutheran pastor and his successors for all time to come.

German immigration was now started. On July 10, 1710, ELEVEN SHIPS reached the harbor of New York, with three thousand German emigrants on board, mostly from the Palatinate, who had journeyed to America by way of England. Between seven and eight hundred persons had died during the tempestuous voyage, or died in quarantine as a result of their hardships. The rest were settled along the HUDSON at the foot of the Catskill mountains. Here they were to repay by their hard labor the benefits received from the English government. When, in addition to this, the hard-hearted governors endeavored to enrich themselves at the expense of these immigrants, many of the latter moved farther westward into the neighborhood of SCHOHARIE, and for the sum of three hundred dollars purchased land from the Indians. Other immigrants followed, and settled along the Hudson; and in this way a number of congregations were founded (among them Rheinbeck). In all these places KOCHERTHAL performed the duties of a PASTOR. Until his death, in 1719, he labored unceasingly for the spiritual and physical well-being of his people. Once he went to England in order to intercede for his suffering countrymen and to obtain an amelioration of their condition. In West Camp this old pastor from the Palatinate lies buried. The stone above his grave bears the following inscription in German:

"Know, O traveler,
under this stone rests,
together with his Sibylla Charlotte,
A genuine traveler.
Of the High-Germans in America
their Joshua,
And of those who settled on the east and west side
of the Hudson River
their true Lutheran Preacher.
His first arrival was with L'd Lovelace
1707/8, January 1.
His second, with Col. Hunter
1710, June 14,
Brought his journey to England to end.
His heavenly Journey was
on St. John's Day, 1719.

If you desire to know more,
Inquire in Melanchthon's fatherland

Who was Kocherthal

Who Harschias

Who Winchenbach.

B. Berkenmeyer, S. Heurtin, L. Brevort.

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His congregation was served first by Falckner, and then by Berkenmeyer and Knoll. The latter visited the congregation three times a year, and received as his salary thirty bushels of wheat.

4. PASTOR BERKENMEYER AND HIS CIRCLE. After the death of Falckner, the old Dutch congregation in New York (in which, however, the Germans were well represented) sent to the Lutheran consistory in Amsterdam a request for a pastor. The consistory extended a call to WILLIAM CHRISTOPHER BERKENMEYER, a candidate of theology in Hamburg, who after long hesitation accepted the call. In 1725 he was ordained in Amsterdam, and was soon on his way to America. He was a man of thorough culture, strong Lutheran bias, and amiable disposition; and he soon won the entire confidence of his congregation. The new courage with which his leadership inspired the congregation is evident from the fact that it soon undertook the erection of a NEW CHURCH BUILDING. In June, 1739, it was able to dedicate its "Church of the Holy Trinity" in New York. Later on, however, pastor Berkenmeyer made LUNENBURG the centre of his activity; and was succeeded in New York by the REV. MICHAEL CHR. KNOLL of Holstein, who, on the strength of recommendations from Hamburg, was called by the Lutheran consistory in London (cf. § 3, 7, footnote). He was succeeded in a short time by another man from Hamburg, a MAGISTER WOLFF, whose conduct, however, soon made disciplinary measures necessary. From Hamburg there came also the REV. PETER NIC. SOMMER, who made Schoharie the centre of his operations, a man who was as capable as he was unassuming, and who, although he was blind for twenty years, attended to the

duties of his office with unwearied faithfulness till his end. In this circle of congenial minds, Berkenmeyer (d. 1751) was not only the oldest, but intellectually the strongest. The period of these men's activity runs parallel with that in which Mühlenberg and his co-laborers in Pennsylvania (§ 4), as well as the Salzburgers along the Savannah in Georgia (§ 5), displayed such blessed activity. But they persistently avoided entering into church-fellowship with the others,—a course which is explained by the Pietistic controversies which raged in Germany at this time, and with respect to which Berkenmeyer and his associates naturally stood on the side of the strict Lutherans.

5. THE SALZBURGERS. Among the Lutherans whom we find in the southern States at an early date, the Salzburgers of Georgia are especially prominent. In the year 1731, in the middle of winter, these people had been driven out of their homes by the fanatical archbishop Leopold Anton of Salzburg, because they could not be forced to join the Roman Catholic Church. In many cases they were compelled to leave their children behind in the hands of their persecutors to be trained up in the Romish faith. With bleeding hearts, but with songs of praise upon their lips, they journeyed through the cities and villages of Germany. Their SONG OF THE EXILES, by Schaitberger, is well-known:¹

I) I bin ein armer Exulant,
A so thu i mi schreiba,
Ma thuet mi aus dem Vaterland
Um Gottes Wort vertreiba.

Des was i wohl, Herr Jesu mein,
E^c ist dir a so ganga,
jet^t will i dein Nachfolger sein,
Herr! mach's na dein Verlanga.

So nuss i heut von meinem Haus,
Die Kindel muss i losa,
Mei Gott, es treibt mir Zährel aus,
Zu wandern fremde Strossa.

Mein Gott, führ mi in ane Stadt
Wo i dein Woit kann hoba,
Darin i di will frühl und spat
In meinem Herzen loba.

I am an exile poor, forlorn,
 'Mid strangers I must roam,
 Cast out because of God's pure Word
 From fatherland and home.

I know full well, Lord Jesus Christ,
 My path is like to Thine:
 Now in Thy footsteps I will walk,
 And let Thy will be mine.

Forth from my home I'm forced to go,
 My children left behind;
 My God, to wander thus abroad,
 A path of tears I find!

O lead me to some land where I
 May keep Thy precious Word:
 Then night and morn my grateful heart
 Shall praise Thee, gracious Lord.

Of these pious Salzburgers, some of whom found a home in Prussia and Holland, a considerable number came to America. The Augsburg preacher DR. SAMUEL URLSPERGER interceded for them in London, and the English government promised them free passage to Georgia, maintenance for one year, land for them and their children, free use of the land for ten years, only light taxes after that period, the rights of English subjects, and religious freedom,—promises which were all kept. Their voyage over the ocean is thus beautifully described by the American historian BANCROFT in the second volume of his “History of the United States”:

“In January, 1734, they set sail for their new homes. The majesty of the ocean quickened their sense of God's omnipotence and wisdom; and as they lost sight of land, they broke out into a hymn to His glory. The setting sun, after a calm, so kindled the sea and the sky, that words could not express their rapture, and they cried out, ‘How lovely the creation! How infinitely lovely the Creator!’ When the wind was adverse they prayed; and, as it changed, one opened his mind to the other on the power of prayer, even the prayer ‘of a man subject to like passions as we are.’ A devout listener confessed himself to be an unconverted man; and they reminded him of the promise to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at the Word. As they sailed pleasantly with a favoring breeze, at the hour of evening prayer they made a covenant with each other, like Jacob of

old, and resolved by the grace of Christ to cast all strange gods into the depth of the sea. In February a storm grew so high that not a sail could be set; and they raised their voices in prayer and song amid the tempest; for to love the Lord Jesus as a brother gave consolation. At Charleston, Oglethorpe on the 18th of March, 1734, bade them welcome; and in five days more the wayfarers, whose home was beyond the skies, pitched their tents near Savannah."

In thankfulness to God for His gracious guidance they called their settlement EBENEZER. Three other ships, whose passengers were mostly Salzburgers, followed this first one, so that the population of the settlement rose to twelve hundred. On one of these ships, besides the two Moravian missionaries Nitschmann and Zeisberger, were JOHN WESLEY and his brother Charles, both of whom were on their way to America in order that they might, so to say, by self-denying labors among the Indians achieve the longed-for peace of soul, very much as Luther once sought the same end by the self-denials and asceticism of a monastic life. The sight of these pious Salzburgers with the deep peace of God in their hearts made a lasting impression upon the brothers. John Wesley related afterwards, how in the midst of a dreadful tempest, near the coast, while the Englishmen on board gave expression to despair, the Salzburgers, without any fear of death, calmly sang their hymns, and comforted one another with God's Word. Dr. Jacobs calls attention to the fact, that not long after this event on the ocean, Charles Wesley, the great singer of English Protestantism, composed the hymn which is sung wherever the English tongue is known:

Jesus, Lover of my soul,
 Let me to Thy bosom fly;
While the waters nearer roll,
 While the tempest still is high!

Hide me, O my Saviour, hide,
 Till the storm of life is past;
Safe into the haven guide;
 O receive my soul at last.

Other refuge have I none;
 Hangs my helpless soul on Thee;
 Leave, ah leave me not alone,
 Still support and comfort me!

All my trust on Thee is stayed,
 All my help from Thee I bring:
 Cover my defenceless head
 With the shadow of Thy wing.

When Dr. Jacobs remarks, that in these lines the poet voiced the impressions produced by the unwavering faith of the Salzburgers in the storm on the ocean, his view seems justified by the circumstances.

It did not need a prophet to foretell that these Salzburgers would prosper in their new home. Under their diligent cultivation the primeval forest was soon converted into a blooming garden. Their spiritual needs were met by four churches, Jerusalem's, Zion's, Bethany and Goschen; and their pastors BOLTZIUS and GRONAU, who had been educated at Halle and had crossed the ocean with them, were pastors in the full sense of the word. Every Sunday three services were held; and every evening after the day's work had been done and supper was ended, they assembled in their churches, where the catechism was first explained to the children, and then the Word of God expounded to the adults. When the first baptism was administered, the children of the congregation were brought before the altar and instructed with regard to their own baptism. The pastors' reports to Halle told how the power of God's Word was manifest everywhere in the congregational life. It was seen, e. g., in the forgiveness of offences, in the inner conflicts of even small children, and the fact that the death-beds were beds of triumph. Of worldly courts the Salzburgers had no need; all misunderstandings were readily removed by their pastors, to whom the people looked up as to their fathers. Indeed, here in Ebenezer there existed a fellowship in which the influences of the ungodly world were not felt, a fellowship under the government of its God and Saviour.

It is sad that to-day there remain but few traces of this exemplary Lutheran colony, and that the direct descendants of those Salzburg immigrants (in the present county of Effingham) must be sought in the churches of other denominations, often of the most radical sects. This deplorable state of affairs is to be traced chiefly to two causes: in the first place, the work of the congregations was greatly disturbed by the war of the Revolution, in which the churches were turned into hospitals and stables; and in the second place, there was too much opposition to the use of the English language in the public services, and a consequent loss of many members to the Methodists and Baptists.

6. LUTHERAN SETTLEMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA. We have already mentioned the settlement at GERMANTOWN and the congregation at FALCKNER'S SWAMP (§ 3, 1). Another Lutheran settlement was formed by the removal of many Palatinate immigrants from SCHOHARIE (§ 3, 3) to Pennsylvania. For these people, having withdrawn themselves from the oppressions of the New York governors, and converted the wilderness into beautiful farms and blooming gardens, discovered that THEIR CONTRACT with the Indians was NOT VALID. The government did not recognize the Indians as the owners of the land. Greedy speculators in New York secured deeds of the lands which these immigrants had bought and cleared; and the latter now found themselves placed before the alternative of renting from the heartless landlords or seeking a home elsewhere. Many determined to remove, and guided by friendly Indians, they traveled for three hundred miles along the Susquehanna river, and settled near what is now the city of Reading (then TULPEHOCKEN) in Pennsylvania. Reports of the ill-treatment of these Palatinate immigrants reached Germany, and resulted in turning the stream of German immigration from the Palatinate, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Alsace into Pennsylvania instead of New York State. This is said to be the reason why the

Lutheran Church is not as strong in New York to-day as in Pennsylvania. In successive waves German immigration in these very years fairly swept over America. According to Zinzendorf's statement there were about 100,000 Germans in Pennsylvania in 1750, and among these the Lutherans were twice as numerous as the Reformed. We learn of the following CONGREGATIONS or preaching stations: Philadelphia, Falckner's Swamp or New Hanover, Providence or The Trappe, Germantown, Lancaster, New Holland or Earlstown, Tulpehocken, Indianfield, Old Goschenhoppen, Orange County. On this wide territory there were but FEW PREACHERS at work. The following are mentioned: Gerhard Henkel, Daniel Falckner, brother of Justus (§ 3, 1), and John Jacob Stoever. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that IRRELIGION was widespread. Zinzendorf relates, that it was customary to say concerning despisers of God, that they held the Pennsylvania religion.

7. AN IMPORTANT STEP. In those days, when the scarcity of pastors was so great, THREE CONGREGATIONS UNITED in an undertaking which, by the providence of God, resulted in the coming of a man who proved to be an incalculable blessing to the Lutheran Church of America. The congregations at PHILADELPHIA, PROVIDENCE (or The Trappe), and NEW HANOVER (or Falckner's Swamp) sent a DELEGATION to Europe to endeavor to secure, through the influence of Court-preacher ZIEGENHAGEN, of London,¹ and PROF. DR. G. A. FRANCKE (son of August Hermann) of

¹⁾ In the 18th century the kings of England were at the same time also electors of Lutheran Hannover. As a result of this fact, there were established in London six Lutheran congregations, of which the German Court Chapel of St. James, endowed by Prince George of Denmark (the husband of the English Queen Anne) and attended by the Hannoverian officials and nobility, was the most prominent. Two pastors of this Court Church, Boehme and especially Ziegenhagen, took a warm interest in the missionary work in America. They formed a bond of union between the emigrants and their German home, and were unremitting in their efforts to provide for the spiritual care of the Lutherans in America. Pastor Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg, who interceded in London for the Salzburgers, was at one time pastor of this church. These London congregations were also of importance for the Lutheran Church of America because of the influence they exerted upon the origin of the first congregational constitution and liturgy. Comp. § 4, 6, 7.

Halle, funds for the building of churches, and above all the sending of a properly qualified clergyman. The negotiations progressed slowly. Francke and Ziegenhagen insisted that the congregations should first promise a DEFINITE SALARY; the latter insisted that the question of salary could only be satisfactorily decided after the pastor was on the ground. When, after several years' delay, no agreement could be reached, the authorities in Halle at last decided to waive this point, and to send at once to the Lutherans of Pennsylvania the man whom they needed. This man was HENRY MELCHIOR MUEHLENBERG, the real founder of the Lutheran Church in America. This sudden action of Halle after years of delay is explained in part, at least, by the appearance in America of a man who had, indeed, done much good in Germany, but whose activity in Pennsylvania was creating the greatest confusion among the Lutherans there. This man was

8. COUNT VON ZINZENDORF, who had intended to spend the time of his exile from Saxony (1736) in missionary work among the American Indians, but whose attention had been drawn to the spiritual need of the Pennsylvania Germans. He had settled first in Germantown. From this point he traversed the country in every direction. Here also (1742), together with four Seventh Day Baptists, a few other Baptists and Mennonites, and a few Lutherans and Reformed, he held his first conference. He wished to unite all the different Churches. This directed the attention of the Lutherans in Philadelphia to him. He accepted their invitation to preach there, administered the Lord's Supper, and let himself be elected pastor. He laid aside his title of count, calling himself Herr von Thürnstein, after one of his estates. To designate his spiritual office, he styled himself "Ev. Luth. Inspector and Pastor at Philadelphia." At the same time, also, he looked after the Reformed, and ordained a pastor and prepared a catechism for them, having previously published Luther's Catechism for the Lutherans. In all he held eight CONFERENCES FOR THE PURPOSE OF UNITING THE VARIOUS CHURCHES. But the longer

he labored, the more confusion he created. The Reformed pastor Böhme warned against him in a special pamphlet of 96 pages. Finally Zinzendorf recognized, that, in order to labor successfully, he must organize his followers into a special denomination, the Moravian Brethren; and he did so. (There are still Moravian congregations in Pennsylvania [e. g., in Bethlehem] which may be traced back to Zinzendorf's activity.)

The theologians in Halle were determined opponents of Zinzendorf. It is true, he was a god-child of Spener and a pupil of Francke, and had been educated in the school of Pietism. But the men of Halle, though they represented a milder type of Lutheranism, nevertheless could see in Zinzendorf's efforts nothing but a dangerous unionism, which was certain to produce confusion. They feared also that their opponents in Germany (in the Pietistic controversies) would hold them responsible for the actions of their pupil. It was not without misgivings, therefore, that they had seen him go to America; and when they learned that he was engaged there, not in missionary work among the Indians, but chiefly in devoting himself to the spiritual care of the Germans in Pennsylvania, they determined to send Mühlenberg at once to the three congregations that had petitioned for a pastor.

CHAPTER II.

MUEHLENBERG, AND THE FOUNDING OF THE OLDEST LUTHERAN SYNOD.

§ 4.

CALL AND EMIGRATION TO AMERICA. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, born September 6, 1711, was descended from a family which during the Thirty Years' War had lost its title of nobility and its estates. With indomitable energy, in the face of many obstacles, he prepared himself for the study of theology, and entered the university of GOETTINGEN, where he completed his course. Having come into touch with Halle, whose influence gave direction to his whole life, he desired to be sent from there as a missionary to China. But since for the present this plan was not found feasible, he accepted a call, in August, 1739, as pastor at Grosshennersdorf in Lausitz (in the neighborhood of Herrnhut). On the occasion of a visit which he paid to FRANCKE at Halle, the latter asked him whether he would accept the call to those three congregations in Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, Providence, and New Hanover (§ 3. 7). Mühlenberg, who recognized this as a divine call, at once decided to accept. On December 17 he already traveled to London in order to prepare himself, during a two months' sojourn there, for his new field of activity by a diligent study of the English language. On the voyage across the ocean, which lasted 110 days, those on board the ship resolved themselves into a sort of congregation, in which he exercised the pastoral office with touching earnestness, and to which he preached the Word of God. September 23, 1742, HE LANDED IN CHARLESTON, S. C., and first of all paid a short visit to the Salzburgers at Ebenezer (§ 3. 5). After tarrying with them only eight

days, he began his journey to Pennsylvania. At his departure he sang a hymn expressing his readiness to follow Christ and to endure all things for His sake.¹⁾ After six weeks of waiting he was obliged to make the voyage from Charleston on board an old sloop, on which he lay sick, with wet clothes, among cursing fellow-passengers. After enduring indescribable hardships, he arrived at PHILADELPHIA November 25, 1742. But Zinzendorf was pastor of the congregation in Philadelphia (§ 3, 8), and Mühlenberg was welcomed by nobody. Indeed in a meeting in which Zinzendorf acted as chairman, Mühlenberg, in a humiliating manner, was given a formal hearing concerning the validity of the call which had been handed to him by Ziegenhagen in London. But the confidence and dignity with which Mühlenberg insisted that he was the real pastor of this congregation and of the two others which had united in calling him, made it evident that there was now a man on the field to whom Zinzendorf would have to yield his leadership of the Lutherans in Pennsylvania. In fact after the lapse of several months we already find Zinzendorf returning to Europe.

2. MUEHLENBERG AS A MISSIONARY. Mühlenberg's self-sacrificing and far-reaching activity as a missionary can only be touched upon here. A more detailed account may be found in Jacobs, Gräbner and Fritschel. As salary he received from one congregation a horse, from another nothing, and from the third scarcely enough to pay his rent. In Philadelphia, services and meetings were held in a CARPENTER SHOP; in Providence (The Trappe), in a BARN. Only New Hanover possessed a half-finished church. The long journeys over roads that were almost impassable and rivers that were bridgeless, could often be made only at the risk of his life. Mühlenberg did not restrict his missionary activity to the three congregations, but was impelled by his sympathy for the orphaned Lutherans to make missionary

1) "So lasst uns denn dem lieben Herrn Mit Leib und Seel' nachgehen
Und wohlgemut, getrost und gern Bei ihm in Leiden stehen."

journeys in every direction. In this way he came to GERMANTOWN, TULPEHOCKEN (Reading), LANCASTER, FREDERICK, YORK, RARITAN, etc. In such places he gathered into open-air meetings those who hungered for the Word of God. These meetings were usually of long duration. First he catechised the children, then followed baptisms, then preaching, and finally the administration of the Lord's Supper. At the same time he attended to the cure of souls privately, reconciled contending parties, was active as an organizer, and directed the building of churches. He inspired CONFIDENCE and was gladly welcomed wherever he went. He possessed in an extraordinary degree the grace of finding "favor with men." With a bearing marked by a combination of natural dignity and genuine Christian humility there was united a character to which learning, executive ability, and deep piety lent an irresistible charm, so that he was gladly received on all sides as leader.

3. The writing of the HALLESCHE NACHRICHTEN formed an important part of his activity. These are detailed reports which, with the assistance of his co-laborers, he sent regularly to the fathers at Halle. (At Halle they were published from time to time, and some of them were read with so much interest, that a second edition was necessary. A complete edition in several volumes was published by Dr. J. L. Schulze, Director of the Orphanage at Halle. A new edition, supplied with valuable geographical, historical and theological notes, was prepared by Dr. W. J. Mann, Dr. B. M. Schmucker, and Dr. W. Germann. An English translation by Dr. C. W. Schaefer has been published only in part (1882)). Through these reports he continually stirred up enthusiasm and procured the sending of more pastors, which in view of the increasing immigration — in 1749, e. g., twelve thousand German immigrants landed in Philadelphia, — was so necessary.

4. CO-LABORERS came to Mühlenberg first in the persons of the Rev. Peter Brunnholtz, and two catechists, John Nich. Kurtz and John H. Schaum, who were sent over from

Halle. An agreement was made, according to which Brunnholtz, with Schaum, took charge of the congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown, while Mühlenberg, with Kurtz as his assistant, confined his labors to the congregations at Providence and New Hanover. Other helpers sent from Halle were the pastors Handschuh and Hartwig. Later we find the names of Gerok (from Württemberg), Bager (the ancestor of the subsequent Gettysburg professors Baugher), Heinzelmann, Schultze, Helmuth, Schmidt, Voigt, Krug, Weygardt, Krauss, Schrenk, etc.

5. THE ORIGIN OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SYNOD. In order to counteract the influence of Zinzendorf, which was still felt to be a detriment to the Lutheran congregations, and especially in order to hold in check the great number of unworthy pastors who sought to force themselves upon the congregations, the founding of an ecclesiastical association was becoming more and more necessary. As early as 1744 TWO INFLUENTIAL LAYMEN of Philadelphia, Koch of the Swedish and Schleidorn of the German congregation, planned such a body. But their efforts failed, because the Swedish pastor Nyberg insisted on including the adherents of Zinzendorf, and Mühlenberg resolutely opposed this. But in 1748, when, on the occasion of a DOUBLE CELEBRATION, namely the dedication of the newly built St. Michael's church and the ordination of the catechist Kurtz, six pastors and twenty-four laymen were present in Philadelphia as the representatives of ten congregations, the Pennsylvania Synod came into being. We find, indeed, as yet no formal organization, and no constitution. But from this time on those who composed the synod were regarded as "UNITED PASTORS", and their parishes as "united congregations." Till the year 1754 seven meetings were held. But then the work of the synod suffered AN INTERRUPTION, and no meetings were held during the years 1754 to 1760. ONE REASON for this state of affairs is doubtless to be found in the fact, that Mühlenberg, who was the real soul of all undertakings, was absent for long periods of time on the territory of the New York Circle (in New York and Rari-

tan), where there was need of his organizing talent.¹⁾ It seems also, that a kind of DISCOURAGEMENT took hold upon the founders of the synod. They found themselves confronted with a mass of German immigrants for whom they were not able to make adequate spiritual provision, and whom, consequently, they could not protect against worthless preachers who flocked in from all sides. And what was done to this end from Germany was entirely inadequate to relieve the dreadful spiritual distress.

The RESUMPTION OF SYNODICAL WORK was due to PROVOST WRANGEL (§ 2), who visited Mühlenberg, and persuaded him to take part in a conference of the Swedes. As a result of his attendance on this meeting, Mühlenberg felt impelled to write at once, on September 24, 1760, to the various pastors, and to invite them to a PASTORAL CONFERENCE to be held October 19 and 20 in Providence. The importance of this meeting should not be underestimated; for at this meeting, the synod, which had almost ceased to exist, was virtually reorganized. It is true, we find even here no trace as yet of a synodical constitution. But from this time on a president is annually elected. We find the name "The Annual Preachers' Meeting of the United Swedish and German Ministerium." Indeed, in 1781, in a minute-book of that date, we find the text of the CONSTITUTION, which, it is fair to presume, was in existence for several years previously. An outline of this constitution, which has served as a basis for so many synodical constitutions of later times, is given by Jacobs, p. 261 and by Fritschel, Vol. I, p. 172. In this document the name of the synod is given as "The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in North America." Later this name was changed to "The GERMAN Ev. Luth. Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Ad-

1) In the city of New York he labored in the old Dutch Church, where the language question was threatening a dissolution. For a long time Mühlenberg preached here in the Dutch, German and English languages. — At this time he also came into contact with pastor Berkenmeyer, who, however, declined all church-fellowship with Mühlenberg, because the latter came from Halle. (§ 3, 4).

jacent States." Not until 1882 was the word "German" dropped from its title.

NOTE—The Pennsylvania Synod now belongs to the General Council. (For further information, see §§ 4; 7, 1-3; 10, 3; 17, 1-3.)

6. THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CONSTITUTION prepared for the Lutheran Church in America was also the work of Mühlenberg. The framing of this constitution was a matter of far-reaching importance for the Lutheran Church in this land. It was introduced by the pastors throughout the territory of Pennsylvania and adjacent States; and later it was adopted by the General Synod for its congregations. In this congregational constitution (printed in GRAEBNER, pp. 484-493), which during the years 1734 to 1762 had gradually grown out of the peculiar needs of St. Michael's Church, Philadelphia, and was meant originally for this congregation in particular, Mühlenberg summed up the fruits of his own wide experience as counselor and leader of so many congregations, and also took into account the experiences of the Swedish and Dutch Lutherans. In a solemn public service, after fervent prayer, the constitution was recommended to the congregations.

7. A COMMON LITURGY, which all pastors should obligate themselves to use, had already been planned by Mühlenberg and his co-laborers in 1748 at the founding of the synod. This order of service, an outline of which was laid before synod in 1754 and sent to Halle for endorsement, seems to have been drawn from a number of Saxon and North German liturgies which were in use in the places in which Mühlenberg had tarried or labored.¹⁾ In 1786, a REVISION of this order of service, which is found in FRITSCHEL, Vol. I, pp. 178-187, was made. But from

¹⁾ The Lüneburg Order of 1643, which was used in Eimbeck, his home; the Calenberger Order of 1569, which was used in Göttingen during his stay at the university; the Brandenburg-Magdeburg Order of 1739, which he learned to know in Halle; the Saxon Order of 1712, which he used as pastor in Grosshennersdorf.

a Lutheran and liturgical standpoint the revised order must be regarded as decidedly inferior to the original.

8. THE CONFESSORIAL TENDENCY OF MUEHLENBERG AND HIS CO-LABORERS. Dr. Jacobs very properly remarks, that the pietism of Mühlenberg and his associates did not displace their Lutheranism, but only colored it. They were true Lutherans in doctrine and practice. To this their entire work, as described in the Halle Reports, bears witness. It is true, we know that they extended ecclesiastical fellowship to the clergy of other denominations. Mühlenberg occasionally preached for the Episcopalians. So he also admitted the Episcopalian pastor Peters, the Reformed pastor Schlatter, the Methodist Whitefield to his pulpit, and preached the funeral sermon for the Reformed pastor Steiner. Whitefield was even invited by the assembled Ministerium (1763) to pay that body a visit, and took an active part in the service. At the dedication of Zion's Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, according to Mühlenberg's report, all the non-Lutheran clergymen of the city were invited. Episcopal clergymen delivered addresses, and Mühlenberg publicly thanked them for their interest. But, says Jacobs, in these men all this was BY NO MEANS THE MANIFESTATION OF UNIONISTIC TENDENCIES. The negative attitude which they took toward Zinzendorf and his adherents shows most plainly their essential disinclination to ecclesiastical indifferentism and unionism. They valued the faithfulness of these members of other Churches to their own confessions, and rejoiced over all those possessions which they held in common with themselves. But at the same time they never denied their own confessional standpoint. Always and everywhere they spoke, taught, and preached as Lutherans. And they could never for friendship's sake be silent concerning a Lutheran doctrine or deny the full consequences of the teachings of their confessions.

A UNION WITH THE EPISCOPALIANS seems, it is true, to have been seriously contemplated. On the part of the German and Swedish Lutherans as well as of the Episcopalians such a union was desired. Mühlenberg and Wran-

gel believed that no essential differences of doctrine existed. We cannot explain this strange phenomenon except by the fact that the Episcopalian Church showed such a friendly spirit toward the Lutherans, and by the fact that, since the reigning family of England was Lutheran (§ 3, 7), the Lutherans and the Episcopalians were the only Churches really recognized by the government. These things doubtless clouded the view of Mühlenberg and his associates, so that they failed to perceive properly the confessional difference between the Lutherans and the Episcopalians.—Further, it is a fact, that Lutheran preachers at the time frequently went to London in order to obtain episcopal ordination (so for example, Mühlenberg's oldest son Peter, afterwards a major-general in the army). But this was done, not in order to unite with the Episcopal Church, but because these men were called to the pastorate of Lutheran churches in the southern States, where only those who had been episcopally ordained were recognized by law (comp. § 5, 2).

9. At the time of MUEHLENBERG'S DEATH the Pennsylvania Synod included in round numbers forty pastors. Confined by weakness to his house at the Trappe (Providence), Mühlenberg held a service in his own house every Sunday with his family. He suffered from dropsy, and his last weeks were very painful. With a prayer¹ on his lips, he died October 7, 1787. All the congregations of the synod held memorial services in his honor, calling to mind the blessings which the Lutheran Church of America had received from God through this prince in Israel. In New York Dr. Kunze preached a funeral sermon, which, by resolution of the church council, was printed and distributed among the members of the congregation. The same was done with a sermon preached in memory of the deceased by Dr. Helmuth in Philadelphia. Mühlenberg's grave is found beside the historic church in New Providence (the Trappe).

1) The words of the German hymn: "Mach' End, O Herr, mach Ende."

In concluding this chapter, we ask, Why does Mühlenberg tower so high above his contemporaries that we call him the PATRIARCH OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA? The answer is found in his favorite motto: "Ecclesia plantanda," the Church must be planted. While others confined their labors to their own parish, Mühlenberg's eye took in the whole Lutheran mission field of America. In fact he was conscious, as may be seen especially from the congregational constitution and the liturgy, that he was laying the foundations for a mighty future.

CHAPTER III.

DEVELOPMENTS WHICH PRECEDED THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GENERAL SYNOD.

§ 5. Origin of Other Synods.

I. FORMATION OF THE NEW YORK MINISTERIUM. It was not until some of the Dutch congregations on the Hudson had a history of a hundred years and the Palatinate congregations a history of fifty years behind them, that a synod was organized on the territory of New York. The reason for this is to be found, in the first place, in the fact that GERMAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE STATE OF NEW YORK was smaller than that into Pennsylvania (§ 3, 6), and, in the second place, in the EXCLUSIVE TENDENCY OF THE BERKENMEYER CIRCLE and its unwillingness to unite with the men from Halle (§ 3, 4). At last, however, in 1773, REV. F. A. C. MUEHLENBERG, a son of the patriarch, who was then pastor of the German Lutheran Christ Church in New York, invited a number of pastors and representatives of congregations to meet in his church for the purpose of organizing a second synod. But it was only in 1786, on the occasion of the dedication of the newly erected Lutheran Church in Albany, that the FIRST MEETING of the synod of which we have any account was held under the leadership of DR. KUNZE.¹ And then only three pastors

1) Dr. John Christopher Kunze studied theology in Leipzig, and taught for several years at a higher school. In 1770, in company with two sons of Mühlenberg who had prepared themselves for the ministry in Halle, he came to America. He became the son-in-law of Mühlenberg; accepted a call as second pastor of St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia; became at the same time professor of oriental languages at the newly founded University of Pennsylvania. In 1783, he accepted a call to a Lutheran pastorate in New York, because it offered him a prospect of conducting a theological department for the training of Lutheran pastors in connection with Columbia College at that place. This hope, however, was blighted by the confusion occasioned by the Revolutionary War.

with their lay delegates from New York and Albany took part in the meeting. Eight pastors who were laboring on this territory remained away. Six years passed before sufficient courage could be mustered up for the holding of another meeting. But then the synod gradually began to grow. After ten years more the synod numbered thirteen pastors. After the death of Dr. Kunze (1807), who had continued to work in the spirit of Mühlenberg, the New York Ministerium was for two decades under the influence of its intellectual but very rationalistic president, Dr. QUITMAN (§ 6, 3). Under his leadership the Ministerium took part in the founding of the General Synod.

NOTE.—The New York Ministerium is to-day a part of the General Council. For other particulars, see § 7, 1, 2; 10, 3; 17, 1; 19, 1.

2. THE NORTH CAROLINA SYNOD originated at Salisbury, N. C., in 1803. Among its founders were A. G. Stork and Paul Henkel. On this occasion an ordination took place, at which the man who was ordained WAS PLEDGED "to observe the rules, regulations, and customs of the Protestant Episcopal Church." The Episcopalians alone were legally recognized; hence this strange pledge, which was not meant to involve an actual going over to the Episcopal Church, but merely an external accommodation to it (§ 4, 8). That unionistic and latitudinarian influences had a share in the matter is not surprising when we remember that the last waves of German rationalism sweeping over to America had not yet spent their force.

NOTE.—The North Carolina Synod to-day belongs to the United Synod of the South (Comp. § 14).

3. The formation of the OHIO SYNOD, which was already in existence when steps were taken to organize the General Synod in 1820, is to be traced back to the year 1812. In that year we read of a conference of Ohio ministers, who, however, were as yet members of the Pennsylvania Synod. (REV. PAUL HENKEL of the North Carolina

Synod, as an itinerant preacher, had traveled all over Ohio in a two-wheeled cart.) On September 14, 1818 these preachers, fourteen in number, without having received from the mother-synod the permission which they sought, founded, at SOMERSET, O., the Ohio Synod which to-day is so influential. (For further particulars, see § 28).

4. The SYNOD OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA, which came into being October 11, 1820 at Winchester, Va., was another daughter of the mother-synod of Pennsylvania, which this time gave its express consent to the independent existence of its child. Among the ten pastors who formed the synod were Dr. Dan. Kurtz, D. F. Schaeffer, Chas. P. Krauth, Sr. This is at present the largest body connected with the General Synod.

5. The TENNESSEE SYNOD was founded July 17, 1820 at Cove Creek, Tenn., and was an offshoot from the North Carolina Synod. The founders of this new body (among them, the brothers Philip and David Henkel, sons of Paul Henkel) could not agree with their brethren in the North Carolina Synod on the LICENSE QUESTION. But their chief reason for separation lay in the fact that they were irreconcilably opposed to the plan, so warmly advocated by the North Carolina Synod, to unite with other Lutheran Synods in the formation of a general body. For a long time the Tennessee Synod ANTAGONIZED the General Synod. At that time it was the only body which formally and unequivocally held to the Augsburg Confession.

NOTE — The following may be regarded as *offshoots* of this Synod, which was never very large: 1. The *Indiana Synod* (now known as the Chicago Synod, and belonging to the General Council, § 17, 7), 2. *The Holston Synod* (§ 14, 1, 3); 3. *The English Conference* of the Missouri Synod (§ 26). The Tennessee Synod and its former antagonist, the North Carolina Synod, now belong to the United Synod of the South.

Six synods, therefore, the Pennsylvania Synod and the five described above, were in existence when the question of the organization of the General Synod was taken into consideration in October, 1820 (§ 7, 1).

§ 6. Character of This Period.

1. THE WANT OF THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES was profoundly felt. Dr. Kunze and after him Dr. Helmuth, pastors of St. Michael's Church, taught as professors at the UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA; and they succeeded in preparing a number of gifted men for the ministry. Among these were G. Lochman, Christian Endress, David F. Schaeffer, and S. S. Schmucker.—FRANKLIN COLLEGE at Lancaster originated in 1787 through the influence of Benjamin Franklin. At this institution Lutherans and Reformed labored together, each hoping in this way to be able to educate men for their ministry. But the Lutheran Church succeeded in securing only a very few in this manner. Among them are to be mentioned H. A. Mühlenberg and Benjamin Keller.¹—Many students prepared themselves for the Lutheran ministry by attending the seminaries of other denominations. PRINCETON (Presbyterian) was one of the chief institutions thus selected.—HARTWICK SEMINARY in New York State, the foundation of which was laid in 1815, originated in an extensive grant of land on the part of the Lutheran pastor Hartwick, who died young. The first director of this institution was DR. E. HAZELIUS, under whose instruction many capable pastors received their training,—men, however, who with respect to their understanding of the Lutheran confessions were children of their age.

2. THE LANGUAGE QUESTION for the first time became acute in this period of the history of the Lutheran Church in America. Mühlenberg, Berkenmeyer, and many German and Swedish pastors had preached English without encountering the least opposition. But now the ques-

1) Franklin College, like the many union churches built by the Lutherans and Reformed, was a symptom of unionism and of indifference to the confessional distinction between the two Churches. The common people believed to a large extent that the only difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed consisted in the different phraseology of the Lord's Prayer in German, the Lutherans saying, "Vater Unser," and the Reformed, "Unser Vater."

tion of language precipitated fierce conflicts. One of the chief THEATRES of these conflicts was the well known St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia. The English under the leadership of General Peter Mühlenberg demanded that an English pastor be added to the two German pastors (Helmut and Schmidt). But in the annual meeting in 1806, in which 1400 votes were cast, the GERMAN PARTY WON by a majority of 130 votes. The English members now withdrew, and organized ST. JOHN'S ENGLISH Lutheran Church. Ten years later a second English congregation, ST. MATTHEW'S, was organized after the advocates of the two languages had engaged in another and exceedingly bitter struggle which was even carried into the courts. Similar conflicts took place elsewhere also, notably in New York. This is the period in which such declarations as this were made at congregational meetings: "As long as the grass grows green and water does not flow up hill, so long this shall remain a German congregation"; "God spoke German to Adam in Paradise, for we read, in Gen. 2, that God called to Adam and said, 'Wo bist du' (Where art thou?)." While such remarks were not to be taken seriously, they nevertheless showed the BLIND FANATICISM with which the language question was discussed. As yet the Germans usually constituted the majority in the congregations, and won. But the young people, in great numbers, went over to the churches of other denominations. Many of the largest congregations among the Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Methodists owe their strength to this circumstance.

NOTE.—The Lutheran Church of America has suffered unspeakably from this language question. But it was not only the Germans who, as indicated above, were to blame; the English also were sometimes at fault in insisting on too early an introduction of the English language and not being willing to wait in patience till the proper stage of development had been reached. Then too, in the latter case, the change of language was often accompanied by the introduction of methods which were foreign to the spirit of the Lutheran Church. It was often more against these un-Lutheran methods than against the English language in itself that the Germans took their stand.

3. UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF RATIONALISM. Mühlenerberg and his associates, watching the developments at the university of Halle, had already viewed with alarm the approach of the time when rationalism would bring the Lutheran pulpits of America also under its influence. This time was now at hand. After the death of Dr. Kunze (1807), Dr. F. H. QUITMAN of Rhinebeck, N. Y., a pupil of Semler, became president of the New York Ministerium, and retained that office for 21 years. Imposing in personal appearance, intellectually far superior to his brethren in the ministry, and able to preach in English as well as in German, he wielded a powerful influence upon the Church of his day. By order of the synod he prepared, in 1812, a CATECHISM that was full of rationalistic teaching, and in 1816 an ENGLISH HYMN-BOOK compiled in the same spirit and containing a liturgy in which the prayers were addressed to "the great Father of the universe." But it must be borne in mind that these efforts to Americanize German rationalism were successful only in the English congregations. The German congregations, clinging to Luther's Catechism, remained in general secure. In order to form a just estimate of the conflicts on the language question mentioned above, it must be borne in mind, therefore, that in the Pennsylvania Synod THE GERMAN LANGUAGE WAS THE BULWARK behind which many, at least, sought safety from the inroads of rationalism.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GENERAL SYNOD.

§ 7. The Organization of the General Synod.

1. THE FIRST STEPS toward the organization of a general body were taken by the Pennsylvania Ministerium at its meeting in Harrisburg, Pa., in 1818. This mother-synod, looking into the future, and knowing from her past experience that one conference after another would cut loose and form an independent synod, hoped in this way to form a BOND OF UNION for the Lutheran Church in America. The important convention for the purpose of organizing the General Synod met on OCTOBER 22, 1820 in HAGERTOWN, Md. The following FOUR SYNODS were represented: The Pennsylvania Synod, the New York Ministerium, the North Carolina Synod, and the Synod of Maryland and Virginia. The newly organized Tennessee Synod, and the Ohio Synod,¹ now grown to considerable dimensions, were not represented. From the four synods named there were fifteen delegates; eleven pastors and four laymen. Dr. J. D. Kurtz of the Maryland Synod presided, and Dr. H. E. Mühlenberg (grand-son of the patriarch) of the Pennsylvania Synod acted as secretary. A CONSTITUTION recommended by the Pennsylvania Synod was adopted after a few unimportant changes, and was to be binding in case NOT LESS THAN THREE synods approved it before the next meeting, which was to be held in Frederick, Md.

2. DISCOURAGEMENTS. This approval was secured, but barely; for the NEW YORK MINISTERIUM withdrew because it regarded a union with such a general body impracticable at present. (In 1837 it united with the General

1) The reasons which prevented the Ohio Synod from sending representatives were not doctrinal but practical. Comp. Fritschel, II, 40.

Synod again). At the following meeting the General Synod suffered a still heavier blow in the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, hitherto the leader. In this case also it was not doctrinal reasons nor misunderstandings among the leaders of the movement which prompted the withdrawal. It was due rather to a pamphlet published by a teacher and widely circulated, which aroused a suspicion that the General Synod purposed to act the tyrant toward the synods and congregations. This prejudice had become so deeply rooted in the congregations, that the pastors deemed it wiser for the present to yield, hoping that at some future time they might find it possible to unite with the general body. It was not, however, till 1853 that the Pennsylvania Ministerium re-entered the General Synod.

3. GROWTH. This prejudice which we have mentioned did not exist in the congregations of the Pennsylvania Synod lying beyond the Susquehanna river. These congregations, therefore, severed their connection with the mother-synod, organized themselves into the West Pennsylvania Synod, and joined the General Synod in 1824. Then different synods joined in the following order: the Hartwick Synod (an opposition synod to the New York Ministerium) in 1831; the South Carolina Synod in 1835; the New York Ministerium in 1837; the English District of Ohio, (the present East Ohio Synod, which took the initial steps towards the founding of Wittenberg College) in 1841; the East Pennsylvania Synod and the Allegheny Synod in 1843; the Miami Synod in 1845; the Illinois Synod (which later went over to the General Council and then to the Missouri Synod), the Wittenberg Synod and the Olive Branch Synod in 1848; the Pennsylvania Synod, the Texas Synod (which later took part in the organization of the General Council and now is connected with the Iowa Synod), the Northern Illinois Synod, and the Pittsburg Synod (§ 19, 3) in 1853; the Northern Indiana Synod, the Southern Illinois Synod, and the English Synod of Iowa in 1857; the Melanchthon Synod (no longer in existence, § 10, 3) in 1859; the Franckean Synod (whose reception caused the

rupture in the General Synod and led to the formation of the General Council) in 1864. (The other districts of the General Synod are given in § 10, note).

4. THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS. In connection with the formation of the General Synod, mention must be made of the founding of its most important theological seminary, namely that at GETTYSBURG, Pa. Although the Hartwick Seminary served for the training of students for the ministry, the General Synod at its third convention in Frederick, Md., resolved to establish a special theological seminary; and Dr. S. S. SCHMUCKER, a man who was destined to wield a strong influence upon the inner development of the General Synod (§ 9, 2, and "Biographical Sketch"), was chosen as the first professor. For the confessional pledge required of the professors see § 11, 1. In September, 1826, the institution was opened in Gettysburg with ten students. Dr. Kurtz, by authority of the synod, collected money for the purpose in Germany, and returned after a two years' absence with the sum of eight thousand dollars, and, in addition to this, several thousand dollars for the founding of a library. In Philadelphia, Prof. Schmucker in the course of one year gathered \$17,500. (For particulars see § 12, 1). For the inner development of the General Synod, WITTENBERG COLLEGE founded in 1845 in Springfield, and presided over for many years by Dr. SAMUEL SPRECHER, a pupil of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, has been important (§ 12, 1).

NOTE.—In connection with the formation of the General Synod, the publication of the "Lutheran Observer" must not be forgotten,—a paper which, though owned by a private corporation, has ever since that time been the most prominent mouth-piece of the General Synod, and through which Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, its editor for thirty years, exercised a powerful influence, though, as those volumes show, not always in the spirit of a conservative Lutheranism (§ 9, 1 and 2).

§ 8. The Significance of the General Synod for the Lutheran Church of this Period.

The more the appreciation of the importance of the Lutheran confessions grew in the Lutheran Church of this country, the louder became the complaint that the General Synod lacked a really Lutheran standpoint. How much justice there was in this complaint, especially during the fifth decade of the last century, and how important the differences in questions of practice are even yet between the General Synod and the strict Lutheran synods of America, shall be noted in the proper place. But it must be acknowledged that in this period the General Synod served a useful purpose, as Dr. Jacobs in his "History of the Lutheran Church in America" points out in the following words:

"The General Synod must be regarded as a very important forward movement, and its influence as beneficial. It necessarily was not without the weaknesses that characterized the Lutheran Church in America at that time. One who ignores the entire historical development will find much to criticise and condemn, when examined from the standpoint of what is demanded by consistency with accurate theological definitions and clear conceptions of church polity. But he will find just as much that incurs the same judgment in the proceedings of the synods that united to form it. The faults peculiar to each synod were lost, while only the common faults of them all remained. The General Synod was a protest against the Socinianizing tendency in New York¹ and the schemes of a union with the Reformed² in Pennsylvania and with the Episcopalians³ in North Carolina. It stood for the independent existence of the Lutheran Church in America, and the clear and unequivocal confession of a positive faith. It failed, as its founders in the several synods had failed, in specifically determining the contents of this faith. It was not ready yet, as these synods were not ready, to return to the foundations laid by Mühlenberg and his associates, and from which there had been a general recession from twenty-five to thirty years before. Lament defects as we may, the General Synod saved the Church, as it became anglicized, from the calamity of the type of doctrine which within the New York Ministerium had been introduced [by Dr. Quitman] into the English language."

1) Cf. § 6, 3.

2) Cf. § 6, 1.

3) Cf. § 5, 2.

§ 9. Aberrations.

1. ON A VISIT TO THE METHODISTS. It is characteristic of the American people to go to extremes. This is particularly apparent in matters of religion. In contrast with the grossest unbelief and the most dreadful godlessness we behold an era of spiritual awakening which carried all before it. Concerning such a time of unbelief we read in Graebner: "Godlessness was disseminated by books which were sold or given away; it was taught in the schools, cultivated in societies, chiseled in marble, painted on canvas, sung in songs, practiced in life, and clung to in death." "Washington was idolized, while the Lord in heaven was blasphemed, the Church and public worship ridiculed, preaching despised, and everything holy traduced." "Then in the last decade of the [eighteenth] century, in remarkable contrast to this universal godlessness, there was enkindled a flame of religious enthusiasm which, crackling and spreading through the spiritual wilderness, swept over thousands with irresistible force." "It started almost simultaneously in different parts of the country. ONE great wave swept up from the southwest, from the outer boundaries, from beyond the Cumberland mountains, where in Kentucky and Tennessee, in regions in which unbelief had been particularly defiant, a number of Presbyterian and Methodist preachers journeyed from place to place, and by their sermons produced a profound impression on many thousands. At the same time there was an awakening over in New England. Thus it spread from place to place." Then between the years 1827 and 1832 we find a similar movement with the evangelists Nettleton and Finney as its center. The most dramatic scenes of this kind, however, took place in 1858, when after another period of moral decay in all ranks of the population, a wave of religious awakening, beginning in New York, swept over all America, influencing all denominations. Graebner describes these great religious gatherings, the largest of which

resolved themselves into camp-meetings, in the following words:—

"Wherever the famous evangelists appeared, the church could not hold all those who flocked to hear. Hence, in wagons, on horseback, and on foot men traveled by the hundreds and thousands into the woods, some of them a distance of fifty or a hundred miles, till five, ten, or twenty thousand of them, men, women, and children, black and white, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and people of every description had gathered and encamped. Then by day and by night, in the latter case by the light of innumerable torches, candles and lanterns which were hung on wagons and trees and posts, they preached and sang and prayed. Large communions were held. There was a medley of sobbing and sighing and lamentation and rejoicing, while the preachers stormed at their audience. Hundreds fell to the earth speechless, as though stricken by lightning or by apoplexy; twenty, thirty, fifty groups gathered here and there around persons who lay as dead or in convulsions upon the earth, till they were either carried away from the scene and laid down in a tent, or, regaining consciousness amid the prayers and encouragements of the preacher or of a new convert, looked around as though in transport and cried out in words to this effect: "Now I am happy! I feel so relieved! I love my Jesus! I love you all; Glory to God; O how happy I am! I am saved! O, if only I had found this blessedness before! Come, father and mother; come, brothers and sisters; come, friends and neighbors; come with me to heaven! Glory to God. My sins are forgiven." At the same time perhaps, in the immediate neighborhood of this person, another, staring around anxiously and wringing his hands in the throes of repentance, cried out again and again, "O God, O Lord, have mercy! Be merciful to me poor sinner! Save my soul from hell! O, I am lost! There is no mercy for me! O my hard heart! What must I do to be saved! O that I might clasp Him in my arms! O for only a grain of grace! O that he would convert my heart! Where is my father? Where is my mother? Why do you not pray for me? I shall be condemned if Jesus does not save me!" Thus it went on till the poor creature collapsed or "got through," and began to thank and praise, and was carried away exhausted."

This method of operations which is not in keeping with the theology of the Lutheran Church,—these "NEW MEASURES,"¹⁾ as they are called,—found their way to a large ex-

1) They are Arminian, and rest on an ignoring of the fact that it is God who converts men. The evangelist undertakes to do the work of the

tent also into the congregations of the General Synod, where, accompanied by greater or less excesses, they were practiced at certain seasons of the year. The "Lutheran Observer" under the direction of Dr. B. Kurtz advocated them very strongly. As a consequence, the necessity of the religious instruction of the young was overlooked.

2. "A LUTHERANISM MODIFIED BY THE PURITAN ELEMENT." This expression, frequently employed during a number of decades, points out an aberration which characterizes the history of the General Synod. German Indifferentism¹ and American Puritanism were the two extremes with which the General Synod, which was becoming more and more exclusively English, came into contact. It is not strange that it felt itself drawn to a puritanical Christianity, and was deeply influenced by the latter. At first preachers and their congregations rather unconsciously came under puritanical influence. In the course of time, however, there developed a tendency within the General Synod which purposely labored to establish a Lutheranism modified by puritanic elements, an "AMERICAN LUTHERANISM," as it was called. In order to describe this process it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the course of events.

Mühlenberg and his co-laborers had labored in the spirit of a Lutheranism to which a healthy piety lent a peculiar charm. In the period following that of Mühlenberg, Kunze in New York and Helmuth and Schmid in Philadelphia had held aloft the standard of the Lutheran Confessions, even though not any longer exactly in the

Holy Spirit, and seeks by artificial means (exciting sermons and prayers, pathetic songs) and high pressure to bring about the new birth. These revival meetings as a rule are characterized by high pressure methods. Where exceptions to this rule existed—and God be thanked, there were many such—and where the sermons were a testimony of the Spirit and a real proclamation of the Gospel, then there surely were also true conversions.

1) The German element was greatly augmented by the immigration of revolutionists of the year 1848, a class which as a rule combined religious with political liberalism. It was particularly the educated Germans who ignored the Church and associated themselves in all kinds of societies (Turner); while the German newspapers antagonized Christianity as cant and hypocrisy.

spirit of the Halle pioneers. But with Quitman we reach the complete falling away from the faith of the fathers. And although the rationalism which he inaugurated never found an actual home in the Lutheran Church in America, the Lutheranism of his contemporaries was so diluted and indefinite, that all the older synods (§ 5) were organized without having a paragraph in their constitution giving their confessional position. This was the period in which the General Synod was founded. That it proved a great blessing to the Lutheran Church, and actually strengthened the Lutheran consciousness, has already been emphasized (§ 8). But it was not able to rise above the times. Gradually, however, a tendency was developed in its midst, whose motto was, BACK TO THE LUTHERANISM OF MUEHLENBERG! The origin of this tendency is to be traced to a variety of CAUSES. The Tennessee Synod had, though not always with the most agreeable polemics, for a long time insisted upon the importance of the confessions for the Lutheran Church. In 1845 the Buffalo Synod (§ 30) and in 1847 the Missouri Synod (§ 21) were organized. Contact with these strict Lutherans, with men like Wyneken and Walther, could not help but have an influence upon those men in the General Synod on whom the conviction had already begun to dawn that the Lutheran Church in America no longer stood upon its historical confessional basis. The epoch-making writings of Dr. Krauth, Jr., concerning the Augsburg Confession¹ wielded a powerful influence also. The Dogmatics of Schmid, translated into English about the same time, contributed to the same end. Among the representatives of this growing tendency toward a conservative Lutheranism were such men as Dr. Morris, Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, Dr. W. J. Mann, Drs. C. P. Krauth Sr., and Jr., Dr. Passavant, Dr. C. Stork, and Dr. J. A. Brown.—OTHERS, however, OPPOSED the movement. They had formed friendships in puritanical circles, and they viewed

1) These writings, based upon a thorough study of the subject, are collected in his book "The Conservative Reformation." Comp. the second of the following biographical sketches.

the rapidly growing Missouri Synod, with its polemical attitude toward everything that did not represent its particular shade of Lutheranism (even toward such a man as Loehe, § 23, 2), as a constant warning against excessive confessionalism. Thus they became more and more conscious of holding an anti-Lutheran standpoint. Moreover, they persuaded themselves that many features of Lutheranism as manifest in the German synods were of a local character, and must be gotten rid of in America; in short, that it was necessary to develop a form of Lutheranism which would be adapted to an American environment. Thus they definitely determined that the General Synod should be dominated by a Lutheranism which was modified by puritan elements. These efforts are connected especially with the names of Schnucker, Sprecher and Kurtz, men who each held an influential position (§ 7, 4), and whose words carried considerable weight. In September, 1855, there appeared, under the title "DEFINITE SYNODICAL PLATFORM," a pamphlet which on closer examination proved to be a revision of the Augsburg Confession. In a preface, the districts of the General Synod were called upon to accept this "Definite Platform" as their confessional basis. Although the pamphlet was published anonymously, it was soon known that the three men mentioned above, especially the first-named, professor at Gettysburg, were the authors of the document. This revision of the Augustana, in which the specifically Lutheran doctrines were stricken,¹ was a summons to proclaim an "American Lutheranism," a Lutheranism which, for the purpose of approximating itself to Puritanism, eliminated its distinctive doctrines. — — But the pamphlet FAILED TO MEET WITH APPROVAL. Only three

1) Among the parts stricken were the approval of the ceremonies of the Mass from Article 24 (by the Mass is meant, however, nothing else than the Communion Service, purified from Romish excrescences); the statement that regeneration takes place through Baptism and the Holy Ghost from Article 2; the declaration that the validity of the sacrament does not depend on the worthiness of him who administers it, from Article 8; that grace is offered in Baptism, from Article 9. Article 10 was made to read: "In regard to the Lord's Supper they teach that Christ is present with communicants under the emblems of bread and wine." Article 11, recommending Private Confession, was eliminated.

smaller district synods in Ohio accepted it temporarily. Everywhere else it was most emphatically repudiated, not only by the men under whose leadership the General Council was soon afterwards formed, but just as emphatically by men who remained in the General Synod. It is therefore not quite accurate to designate the aberration described in this section as an aberration of the General Synod as such. It was rather an aberration only of individual men in that body, who occupied, indeed, influential positions, but who through the very publication of this "Definite Synodical Platform" lost their popularity.

We close this section with a few BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES of several men who were prominent in the movements of which we have just spoken.

1. *Prof. Dr. S. S. Schmucker* began his studies at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and completed them in the Presbyterian seminary at Princeton. From his first pastorate he was called, when only 26 years old, to the Seminary at Gettysburg, where he remained for forty years. His literary activity was incessant. He wrote, all told, forty-four books and pamphlets. He possessed rare executive ability. With keen vision he saw through the most complicated situations, and was able at once to reduce things to logical order. He was unexcelled in the preparation of constitutions for synods, congregations and institutions. He was distinguished by fervent piety. The hymn No. 365 in the Wollenweber Gesangbuch ("Kommt ihr Armen, schwerbeladen mit der Sünde Zentnerlast") was written by him. Through a pamphlet (1831) he was instrumental in bringing about the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. At its first convention in London (1846) at which he was present, he was publicly spoken of by Dr. King of Ireland, as the father of the Alliance. During the first half of his career he was more Lutheran than the majority of his contemporaries. But later, when the reaction in favor of a decided Lutheranism actually set in, he combatted the tendency with voice and pen.

Dr. B. Kurtz, born at Harrisburg, Pa., was the grandson of John Nicholas Kurtz (§ 4, 4). He served congregations at Hagerstown, Md., and Chambersburg, Pa.; editor of the *Lutheran Observer* 1833-1861. The General Synod was organized in his church at Hagerstown. He was a zealous advocate of English-preaching, Sunday-schools, protracted meetings, and temperance-reform. Died 1865.

Dr. Samuel Sprecher, born 1810 at Williamsport, Md.; educated at Gettysburg; served congregations at Harrisburg, Pa., Martinsburg, Va., and Chambersburg, Pa.; was professor at Wittenberg College 1849-1884. He was a highly gifted teacher, with great talent for philosophical and systematic labors. His most prominent work was "Groundwork of a System of Ev. Luth. Theology," written, of course, from the standpoint of the Definite Platform. In later years he renounced this position: "I once thought that a Lutheranism modified by the Puritan element was desirable; but I have given up its desirableness, and am convinced of its hopelessness." He is still living at the age of over ninety years in San Diego, Cal.

2. *Professor Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth*, a pupil of Schmucker, who by an earnest study of historical and dogmatical questions had gradually gained an insight into the importance of a truly historical Lutheranism for America, was in the midst of his theological development at the time of the conflicts over the "Definite Platform." He antagonized the "American Lutheranism"; and his discriminative articles of this period, published especially in the "Missionary" and the "Evangelical Review," exerted a powerful influence in making the issues clear and strengthening the conservative Lutheran tendency in the General Synod. In 1861 he became editor of the "Lutheran," and in 1864 professor of theology in the newly founded Seminary at Philadelphia (§ 20, 1). When the rupture in the General Synod finally came, he was among those who withdrew from the General Synod and founded the General Council (§ 10, 3). Dr. Spaeth has prepared a biography of this prominent theologian (d. 1883) in two volumes, of which one volume has been published (1898).

3. *Prof. Dr. H. J. Mann*, of Stuttgart in Württemberg, equipped with a thorough theological training, came to America in 1845, at the invitation of his friend, Dr. Schaff. He became pastor of a Reformed congregation, and in connection with Dr. Schaff edited the "Deutscher Kirchenfreund," and later became chief editor of that periodical. In 1850 he came back to the Lutheran Church, connected himself with the Pennsylvania Synod, became pastor of Zion's Church in Philadelphia, and in 1864 German professor in the seminary at Philadelphia. By means of two excellent pamphlets, "A Plea for the Augsburg Confession" (1856) and "Lutheranism in America" (1857) he also took part in combatting this "American Lutheranism." He was an extremely fertile author, and wrote among other things, a "Life of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg" in English and in German. He performed a most valuable service to the Church by editing the "Hallesche Nachrichten" (§ 4, 3). A charming picture of this prominent German-American theo-

logian and his wealth of theological ideas is presented to us in Dr. Spaeth's "W. J. Mann. Erinnerungsblaetter."

§ 10. The Rupture, and the Origin of the General Council.

1. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SWEDES from the General Synod preceded the great rupture of which we shall presently speak. The Northern Synod of Illinois, which belonged to the General Synod, contained a number of Swedes and Norwegians who supported a Swedish professor, Rev. L. P. ESBJOERN, in the seminary conducted at Springfield, Ill. by Drs. Reynolds and Harkey. The Swedes abolished this professorship, severed their connection with the Northern Illinois Synod, and, in conjunction with other Scandinavians, founded the Augustana Synod, which at present is connected with the General Council (§ 19, 5).¹

2. The WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOUTHERN LUTHERANS in 1863 was another forerunner of the more important secession of which we are about to speak. From 1861 to 1864 the CIVIL WAR raged in America. The North and the South stood opposed to one another in armed array. The mutual animosities engendered by the civil strife permeated the ecclesiastical relations also, and culminated at last in the withdrawal of FIVE SYNODS from the General Synod; namely, the Texas Synod, and the Synods of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia. The four last named bodies immediately united in the formation of a new general body, which resulted, in 1886, in the organization of the UNITED SYNOD OF THE SOUTH.

3. The rupture which was followed by the ORGANIZATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL must be viewed in the light of previous history. Under the leadership of Dr. Benj. Kurtz the MELANCHTHON SYNOD had been formed in 1857. In its constitution it explicitly adopted the Definite

1) The seminary building afterwards passed into the hands of the Missouri Synod, which established there its Practical Seminary.

Platform as its doctrinal basis (§ 9, 2). At the convention of the General Synod in Pittsburg, Pa., (1859) this synod was received on condition that it accept the unaltered Augsburg Confession. In the year 1864 at the convention in York, Pa., the FRANCKEAN SYNOD also applied for admission. This synod, an offshoot of the New York Ministerium, had never accepted the Augsburg Confession. It was told that it must first adopt the doctrinal basis of the General Synod. But the delegates of the Franckean Synod succeeded in having this resolution reconsidered the following day, and declared their belief, that by accepting the constitution of the General Synod they had actually placed themselves upon the doctrinal basis of that body. They were able, also, to point to the reception of the Melanchthon Synod as a precedent. The result of a long and earnest discussion was, that the Franckean Synod was received by a vote of 97 to 40, with the condition that at its next meeting it should expressly declare its adherence to the Augsburg Confession. The minority entered a protest. At the same time the DELEGATES OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SYNOD WITHDREW, declaring that they must first report to their own synod; for at its re-entrance into the General Synod (1853) the Pennsylvania Synod had resolved, that if ever the General Synod violated its constitution and required assent to anything that conflicted with the faith of the Lutheran Church, its delegates should protest, withdraw from the sessions of the general body, and report back to synod. The Pennsylvania Ministerium approved the action of its delegates. But inasmuch as the General Synod at the same convention in York took steps to amend the article of its constitution referring to the reception of new synods, the Pennsylvania Ministerium again sent delegates to the next convention at FORT WAYNE, IND. (May 16, 1866). But when these delegates handed in their credentials along with others, the president (Dr. Sprecher) declared that the Pennsylvania Ministerium, by reason of the action of its delegates at York, was no longer actually connected with the General Synod; and that, since no record of the re-establish-

ment of its connection was before the General Synod, that body had no official knowledge on the subject. Consequently he could not as president accept the credentials of the delegates of the Pennsylvania Ministerium before the meeting was organized. After a discussion of three days duration, the General Synod upheld the decision of its presiding officer. "The purpose of the majority was not to exclude the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, but to compel its delegates to apply for re-admission, and then to re-admit the Ministerium, with the condition which the Ministerium attached to its admission in 1853 annulled, or the request made that the Ministerium should itself annul it. The right of delegates to withdraw and report to their own synod when an act which seemed to them unconstitutional was passed, was no longer to be admitted. This was the point of contention during the days of debate that followed." (Jacobs.) The delegates of the Pennsylvania Ministerium maintained that their withdrawal from the meeting in York did not constitute a severance of their synod's connection with the General Synod, and that therefore they were now members of the general body and entitled to all the privileges of membership. In order, if possible, to prevent the threatened rupture, the delegates of the Pennsylvania Ministerium were requested by a special resolution "to waive what may seem to them an irregular organization." The delegates declared that they would be satisfied and take their seats, if the General Synod would say that the Pennsylvania Ministerium had the right to be represented before the election of officers had been held and was entitled to take part in it. This the General Synod, however, by a vote of 72 to 32 declined to do. Thus the RUPTURE WAS COMPLETED. The DELEGATION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MINISTERIUM LEFT THE MEETING, and a few weeks later, at its 119th convention in Lancaster, Pa., the historical mother-synod severed its connection with the General Synod, and at the same time sent out a CALL FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF A NEW GENERAL BODY. This body came

into existence the very next year under the name of the GENERAL COUNCIL, and in the very city, Fort Wayne, Ind. (§ 17, 1), in which the rupture had occurred. The New York Ministerium, the Pittsburg Synod, the English Synod of Ohio, the Illinois Synod, and the Minnesota Synod likewise left the General Synod and took part in the formation of the General Council. This was not done, however, without a rupture in most cases within the synods themselves. The NEW YORK MINISTERIUM lost 17 pastors and 10 congregations, who organized themselves under the name of the New York Synod¹ and united with the General Synod.² — — A similar result followed in the ILLINOIS SYNOD. At the decisive convention at Mt. Pulaski, Ill., a minority refused to leave the General Synod, and organized itself at once into the Central Illinois Synod.² (The Illinois Synod afterwards dissolved its relation with the General Council, and was amalgamated with the Missouri Synod.) — — There was a division in the PITTSBURG SYNOD also, 10 pastors leaving that body and remaining in union with the General Synod under the old name of the Pittsburg Synod.

By the withdrawal of the Swedes, the southern Lutherans, and the synods which took part in the formation of the General Council, the General Synod in the decade of 1860 to 1870 suffered the loss of 217 pastors and 71,149 communicants.

NOTE.— Since that time, however, a number of new synods have united with the General Synod: In 1867 the Susquehanna Synod; in 1868 the Kansas Synod; in 1871 the English Nebraska Synod; in 1875 the Wartburg Synod; in 1891 the California Synod, the Rocky Mountain Synod, and the German Nebraska Synod. The last-named body was formed of pastors and congregations of the English Nebraska Synod, and has grown, ac-

1) As early as 1859 seven New Jersey pastors had left the New York Ministerium and formed the New Jersey Synod. This little body united in 1872 with the New York Synod, and together they are now known as the "Synod of New York and New Jersey."

2) The German *Wartburg Synod* originated from the Central Illinois Synod. First the Germans formed a conference within the Central Illinois Synod, and then this conference was organized at Chicago in 1875 into the Wartburg Synod, which united with the General Synod.

cording to the report of 1903, to a membership of 67 pastors and 80 congregations. On the territory of this synod (Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and the two Dakotas) there is promise of a large growth for the Germans, especially since their theological seminary at Atchison, Kans., is in a position to supply the many mission fields with pastors.

§ 11. The Character of the General Synod.

I. ITS DOCTRINAL STANDPOINT.

a) The first constitution of the General Synod (given in detail by Fritschel, Vol. II, p. 40) contained no explicit declaration of adherence to the Augsburg Confession. This defect is explained by the tendency of that period, which was one in which the necessity of a clearly stated doctrinal basis was not yet realized. Not until 1835 was a PARAGRAPH ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE GENERAL SYNOD, requiring that synods desiring to unite with it should accept the fundamental doctrines of the Bible as taught by our Church. But this fact does not authorize us to say that the General Synod remained all those years without a confessional obligation. For in 1829 it adopted a CONSTITUTION FOR ITS DISTRICT SYNODS, which in its formula for ordination required an affirmative answer to the following questions:—

1. Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice?
2. Do you believe that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession?

Even earlier than this, in 1825, the confessional basis of the THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT GETTYSBURG was expressed as follows:—

In this Seminary the fundamental doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, as found in the Augsburg Confession, shall be taught in the German and English languages.

When the professors were inducted into office they were required to affirm:

I believe that the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther are a summary and correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of God's Word.

A closer examination of these confessional obligations, particularly that contained in the formula of ordination, reveals a lack of the necessary clearness and definiteness. The expression "SUBSTANTIALLY CORRECT" was interpreted by the representatives of the so-called "American Lutheranism" to mean that the Augustana was not throughout in accordance with the Scriptures, and that they had the right, therefore, to reject such articles as they chose.

b) At the convention in YORK, PA. (1864), the very one from which the delegates of the Pennsylvania Ministerium had withdrawn in consequence of the reception of the Franckean Syrod (§ 10, 3), the General Synod recommended to its district synods the incorporation of the following paragraph in the constitution of the general body:

All regularly constituted Lutheran synods, not now in connection with the General Synod, receiving and holding, with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God as contained in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word, may at any time become associated with the General Synod by complying with the requisitions of this constitution and sending delegates, etc.¹⁾

It is to be noted that, instead of "substantially correct," we here read "a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word." This clause was taken from the constitution of the New York Ministerium.

c) At the SAME CONVENTION in York, in order to interpret disputed points of the Augsburg Confession and to

1) This paragraph was formally adopted at Washington in 1869.

bear testimony to its unequivocal adherence to that symbol, the General Synod resolved:

This synod, resting on the Word of God as the sole authority in matters of faith, on its infallible warrant rejects the Romish doctrine of the real presence or transubstantiation, and with it the doctrine of consubstantiation; rejects the mass, and all ceremonies distinctive of the mass; denies any power in the sacrament as an opus operatum, or that the blessings of baptism and of the Lord's Supper can be received without faith; rejects auricular confession and priestly absolution; holds that there is no priesthood on earth except that of all believers, and that God only can forgive sins; and maintains the sacred obligation of the Lord's Day; and while we would with our whole heart reject any part of any confession which taught doctrines in conflict with this our testimony, nevertheless, before God and His Church, we declare that, in our judgment, the Augsburg Confession, properly interpreted, is in perfect consistence with this our testimony—and with Holy Scripture as regards the errors specified.

This declaration was originally prepared by Dr. Krauth (see § 9, 2, Biographical sketches) and adopted by the Pittsburgh Synod, which now belongs to the General Council, in 1856 in connection with resolutions directed against the "Definite Platform." On motion of Dr. Passavant, who was an active member of the General Council from its inception, it was adopted by the General Synod at York.

d) At HAGERSTOWN, Md. (1895) the General Synod adopted another resolution which must be taken into consideration in judging of its confessional standpoint. It will be necessary to go back a few years in order to understand the motive underlying that resolution. The result of the rupture which led to the formation of the General Council was BY NO MEANS A CLEAR CLEAVAGE between the confessional and the non-confessional elements. Many men who remained in the General Synod had combatted the Definite Platform with as much determination as those who left it. For them the difficulty with the Pennsylvania Ministerium resolved itself chiefly into a parliamentary question. These men of a confessional tendency constantly increased in numbers and influence, and the RELATIONS between them and the men of the opposite party grew more and more

STRAINED.¹⁾ The former, the so-called "CONSERVATIVES," complained that many men on the other side wrongly interpreted the clause of the constitution which reads, "the Augsburg Confession is a correct exhibition of the FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES of the divine Word," interpreting it as binding them only on those points of doctrine in which the Augustana exhibits fundamental truths of the Bible, but not binding them on non-fundamental doctrines. The latter class of persons, who, with an unmistakable leaning toward the Definite Platform, aimed at an American Lutheranism severed from its historical past, accused the most influential men on the conservatively Lutheran side of seeking to change the confessional basis of the General Synod and to make, not the Augsburg Confession alone, but all the other confessions of the Book of Concord the doctrinal basis of the General Synod. The General Synod as a body at its biennial meetings had always sought to maintain the middle-ground between these two parties; and therefore, at its convention in Hagerstown, Md. (1895), it passed the following resolution as an interpretation of its constitution:

This convention of the General Synod expresses its entire satisfaction with the present form of doctrinal basis and confessional subscription, which is the Word of God as the infallible rule of faith and practice, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession as throughout in perfect consistence with it—nothing more, nothing less.

Here for the first time the "unaltered" Augsburg Confession is mentioned, although no other than this was meant in York in 1864. Then too, this resolution expressly declares that the Augustana is throughout in perfect consistence with God's Word.

1) This strained relation reached its climax in the conflict over the *Common Service*. The United Synod of the South, the General Council, and the General Synod had, through a joint committee from the three bodies, prepared a common order of service on the basis of the Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century. The efforts to adopt this liturgy resulted in a conflict between the two tendencies in the General Synod, lasting for a number of years. The *Common Service* was finally adopted.

e) But the friction between these two parties did not cease. Of this fact the minutes of the convention at DES MOINES, Ia. (1901) bear witness. For there we read:

We re-affirm our unreserved allegiance to the present basis of the General Synod, and we hold that to make any distinction between fundamental and so-called non-fundamental doctrines of the Augsburg Confession is contrary to that basis as set forth in our formula of confessional subscription.

The resolutions adopted at Hagerstown and at Des Moines must NOT, indeed, be OVERESTIMATED. They were not made known beforehand nor discussed by the district synods, so that the latter could elect their delegates with a view to the acceptance or rejection of the resolutions. On the contrary they came before the synod unexpectedly, and were unanimously adopted. At the same time, however, if we remember that the questions at issue had been the subject of controversy in the church papers for a number of years, and had been discussed from every point of view, these resolutions are still a testimony to the attitude of the majority of the delegates of the General Synod towards the Augsburg Confession.

f) THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION — NOT MORE, NOT LESS. This sentence, so frequently used by its leading men, exhibits the peculiar, characteristic feature of the General Synod. It marks the distinction between it and most of the other synods of America, since the latter accept all the Confessional writings of the Book of Concord as their doctrinal basis. The General Synod does, indeed, emphatically adopt Luther's Small Catechism as the manual for catechetical instruction; but it has resolutely declined as a synod to accept the other confessional writings, especially the Formula of Concord, as an interpretation of the Augsburg Confession, binding on all points. Among the reasons for this standpoint adduced by its leading men are the following: The Augsburg Confession is the universal symbol of the Lutheran Church, which has been accepted always and everywhere, and without which the existence of a Lutheran Church would be impossible. The Formula of Concord, on

the other hand, which has never obtained universal recognition in the Lutheran Church (as e. g. not in Denmark, Sweden, Holstein, Pomerania, Anhalt, Hesse, Brunswick, etc.) represents a specific development of the Lutheran doctrinal system; and to place one's self on such a narrower platform results in TYPES of Lutheranism which are different from that evangelical Lutheranism which characterized the Lutheran Church at the time of its confession at Augsburg (Valentine). Yet the Formula of Concord, together with the other symbolical books, possesses the distinction of being, if not a binding interpretation, still the best source for the interpretation of the Augustana. The chief seminary of the General Synod, at GETTYSBURG, obligates its professors EX ANIMO not only to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession but to LUTHER'S SMALL CATECHISM, and the obligation is to be renewed every five years. The seminaries at Springfield, Ohio, and Atchison, Kas., place themselves unequivocally upon a truly historical Lutheran basis.

2. ITS PRACTICE. A characteristic feature of the General Synod is found in its FELLOWSHIP WITH NON-LUTHERAN DENOMINATIONS. At its general conventions it receives delegates from the Reformed and the Presbyterians, and sends a delegate to the conventions of both these Churches.¹

This fellowship practiced by the General Synod is extended to all neighboring preachers of any evangelical denomination which holds a positive attitude toward the fundamental truths of Christianity. It also allows the members of such churches to come to the Lord's Table as guests. And this pulpit and altar fellowship is practiced not only by those who lay all emphasis on the doctrines

1) It makes it a rule, however, not to exchange delegates with such denominations as are of a proselyting character. Until within the last few years it was customary to receive a delegate from the "United Brethren." But at the convention of the Synod at Mansfield, O., (1897) the delegate was unfortunate enough to refer to the fact that his Church sent missionaries to Germany. This gave offense, and the Synod resolved to give expression to its disapproval of this practice by discontinuing the exchange of delegates.

held in common by Lutherans and Reformed and who reveal an antipathy to strict Lutheran doctrine, but also by the constantly growing conservative party, which in all the fundamental points of the Lutheran confession takes a positive position and has no thought of an approach to the Reformed Churches IN DOCTRINE. The GERMANS in the General Synod are as a rule unfavorable to this practice, and view it in the same light as the more moderate members of the General Council.

3. ITS POLITY. The General Synod, like all the synods of America, rests on the equality of all ordained ministers and the co-operation of pastors and laymen in Church-work. The delegates to the General Synod, which meets biennially, consist of pastors and laymen in the proportion of one pastor and one layman for every eight pastors in the district synods. The authority of the General Synod over its district synods is largely of an advisory character. The executive and juridical power rests in the hands of the district synods. The latter, however, must not pass any ordinances that are in conflict with the "Formula for the Government and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." Among the special prerogatives of the General Synod is that of providing the books and literature to be used in the public services (agendas, hymn-books, catechisms). The missionary and benevolent operations of the synod are also under the direct supervision of the general body.

4. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION. Among all the Lutheran ecclesiastical bodies of this country, the General Synod is the most Americanized, and therefore the most English. Still, about one-eighth of its pastors and congregations (more correctly one-seventh) uses the German language. The Germans of the General Synod are found largely in the almost exclusively German districts of the Wartburg Synod (40 pastors) and the German Nebraska Synod (67 pastors). The Synod of New York and New Jersey is almost half German; and a few Germans are

found in nearly all the other district synods. The organ of the Germans formerly was the "Lutherischer Kirchenfreund"; now it is the "Lutherischer Zionsbote."

§ 12. The Work of the General Synod.

I. THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES AND COLLEGES.

The OLDEST of the theological seminaries of the General Synod is HARTWICK SEMINARY in New York State. Concerning its origin consult § 6, 1. — — The largest seminary of the General Synod is located at GETTYSBURG, PA. Founded in 1826 (§ 7, 4), it has sent forth almost 1,000 pastors. At the present time the institution has five well endowed professorships. It possesses a library which is extremely valuable for the history of the Lutheran Church in America. The value of its property aggregates \$160,000. For a long period of years, until 1903, its president was Dr. M. Valentine; now it is Dr. J. A. Singmaster. — — The theological seminary at SPRINGFIELD, O., was founded in 1845, and stands in close connection with a largely attended college founded at the same time and place. The head of the theological department is Dr. Ort. The number of students is about 40. — — Susquehanna University at SELINSGROVE, PA., was founded in 1858 by Dr. B. Kurtz. It was intended at first as a sort of missionary institution, in which older men, who could not obtain a classical education, might be given an opportunity to prepare themselves for work in the kingdom of God, especially in the foreign missionary field. But since 1894, having received very considerable endowments and increased its faculty, it has established itself as a full college with a theological seminary in connection with it, and has assumed the name given above. The head of this institute for many years was Dr. H. Ziegler. — — The "Western Theological Seminary" at ATCHISON, KANS. is the youngest theological seminary of the General Synod. Founded in 1893, it was opened in the

rooms of Midland College, with Dr. F. D. Altman as its first president. This institution has become especially important to the Germans by reason of the fact that the German theological seminary founded in Chicago by Dr. Severinghaus and conducted by him for thirteen years amid many difficulties, was abolished in 1898 and combined with this English institution as a German department under the care of Prof. J. L. Neve. This seminary receives constant accessions from BREKLUM in Schleswig, Germany.

The General Synod has six COLLEGES: PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE at Gettysburg, Pa. (Dr. Hefelbower); WITTENBERG COLLEGE at Springfield, O. (Dr. Heckert); SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY at Selinsgrove, Pa. (Dr. Enders), whose chief work is collegiate; HARTWICK (Dr. Traver), which in part gives education in the classics; CARTHAGE COLLEGE at Carthage, Ill. (Dr. Sigmund); and MIDLAND COLLEGE at Atchison, Kans. (until 1904, Dr. Clutz, now Dr. Troxell).

In order to assist its younger and weaker educational institutions, the General Synod has organized a BOARD OF EDUCATION. From benevolent contributions raised on the so-called apportionment plan, this Board assists in the payment of debts incurred by its institutions or of deficiencies of salary for the professors. — — The PARENT EDUCATION SOCIETY has for its object the giving of financial aid to such students for the ministry as are in need of help, by means of funds derived from benevolent contributions or interest-bearing investments. At present, however, the support of beneficiary students of theology lies more in the hands of the individual synods, which annually appoint a BENEFICIARY COMMITTEE, authorizing it to receive contributions, and to apportion certain sums among worthy students.

2. MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES.

a) FOREIGN MISSIONS. Although the General Synod at the time of its organization in Hagerstown already purposed to do missionary work among the heathen, the plan was not put into practical operation till 1842, when Missionary C. F. HEYER was sent by the Ministerium of Pennsyl-

vania to GUNTUR, INDIA, north of Madras. The General Synod supplied him with assistants, and assumed the responsibility for this work begun by the Pennsylvania Ministerium (Comp. § 20, 3). In the year 1903 the Guntur Mission contained 20 American missionaries, male and female (not counting the wives of the missionaries), 506 native workers, and 28,862 baptized members. WATTS MEMORIAL COLLEGE in Madras (founded by means of a donation of \$10,000, to which the English government in India added \$11,250) is an institution meant for the training of helpers, and furnishes at the same time a Christian education to other students in India. A WOMAN'S MISSIONARY HOSPITAL exists under the direction of Dr. Anna Kugler.

In LIBERIA, on the west coast of Africa, the General Synod has another mission, the so-called MUHLENBERG MISSION. On account of the deadly climate, however, the missionaries have all been able to remain there only a short time, and many of the missionaries and their wives have died there after a brief period. The name of DR. DAVID DAY will always remain closely associated with the history of this mission. He and his wife survived the climate longer than any others; but at last, after laboring for twenty years, and burying his wife and three children, he was carried off by the African fever. His influence over the heathen was so great, that for a hundred miles around the tribes came to him to decide their disputes. Dr. Day was certainly the greatest foreign missionary of the Lutheran Church of America.

b) The HOME MISSION WORK of the General Synod falls into two divisions: "Home Missions" proper and "Church Extension." By the Home Mission work the General Synod understands the providing of a pastor for young and weak congregations, and the payment of his salary in whole or in part from the Home Mission treasury. The Church Extension society has to do chiefly with the church property of young and poor congregations. From its treasury a certain amount is donated or loaned without

interest to a needy congregation for the erection of a church. — — These departments are in charge of special Boards appointed by the General Synod. The former has three and the latter two traveling missionaries in the field. For these two branches of home missionary work the receipts for the biennium ending in 1903 were \$188,439.

c) INSTITUTIONS OF MERCY. While it is generally conceded that among all the Lutheran ecclesiastical bodies of America the General Synod possesses the best organization of its missionary work, it must be admitted that its institutions of mercy cannot bear a comparison with those of the other general bodies. Yet it now possesses three ORPHANAGES (at Loysville, Pa., Nachusa, Ill., and Springfield, O.). Its DEACONESS INSTITUTION in Baltimore has passed its beginnings and already does an important work. Its provision for the SUPPORT OF SUPERANNUATED MINISTERS and widows of ministers through the "Pastors' Fund Society" and the "Home for the Aged" in Washington, has recently also begun to be of importance.

§ 13. Some Statistics.

The General Synod numbers 1,240 pastors, 1,635 congregations and preaching-points, and 213,109 communicants. In connection with the number of communicants, which, compared with that of other general bodies, is strikingly small, it must be borne in mind that in the General Synod not only the head of the family, but every communicant member is expected to give a certain sum for synodical and benevolent purposes (Apportionment-system), and that consequently there is a disposition on the part of congregations and pastors to report the number of communicants as low as possible, in order to make sure of raising the amount apportioned to them. Accordingly the number of communicants given above must be understood as meaning contributing communicants. On the other hand, in the

Synodical Conference, for example, with its proportionally greater number of members reported, all the confirmed members are counted, as they rightly should be.

Another statistical phenomenon needs explanation. It appears from the parochial reports of the purely English districts that the baptisms of adults are as numerous as the baptisms of children. From this fact some have drawn the conclusion that INFANT BAPTISM is neglected in the General Synod. But here the difference between the work in English and in German congregations is to be borne in mind. The majority of the other Lutheran bodies have to do largely with immigrants, who have nearly all been baptized, and who, as a rule, have their children baptized, even if they themselves are not members of the Church. Thus it happens that among the Germans of the General Synod there are scarcely any adult baptisms. But the General Synod is seven-eights English, and in its missionary work has to deal largely with such persons as have, in the course of their Americanization, cast aside the customs of their fathers, and have let their children grow up unbaptized. Indeed, it has to deal with such persons as have been under the influence of denominations which reject or make light of infant baptism. If such persons are to become members of the Lutheran Church, they must be baptized as adults. Consequently THE LARGER THE NUMBER OF ADULT BAPTISMS IN AN ENGLISH LUTHERAN SYNOD, THE STRONGER THIS FACT BEARS WITNESS TO ITS MISSIONARY AND EVANGELIZING SPIRIT. And if in some of the eastern synods the number of infant baptisms is actually very small, it is to be borne in mind, 1. that among the English large families are unfortunately (!) rare, and 2. that in the eastern States many of the young people, when grown, obey the advice, "Young man, go west."

CHAPTER V.

THE UNITED SYNOD OF THE SOUTH.

§ 14. The Origin of this Synod.

THIS general body, comprising the Lutheran synods of the Southern States, bears its present name only since the year 1886.

1. An account of the origin of the Lutheran synods in the South has already been given in § 5, 2, 5. The NORTH CAROLINA SYNOD was organized in 1803. From this synod the TENNESSEE SYNOD went out in 1820, because the members of the latter were of a positive Lutheran tendency, and disapproved of the purpose of the North Carolina Synod to take part in the organization of the General Synod (§ 5, 5). The SOUTH CAROLINA SYNOD was formed in 1824, and united with the General Synod in 1835. The VIRGINIA SYNOD was organized in 1829. (From its midst came such men as Drs. S. S. Schmucker, J. G. Morris, C. P. Krauth). In 1841 a SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA SYNOD, and in 1846 the MISSISSIPPI SYNOD, which at present numbers only seven pastors and eleven churches, were formed. The SYNOD OF GEORGIA, embracing the States of Georgia and Florida, came into existence in 1860. In the same year the HOLSTON SYNOD (so called after the Holston River in Tennessee), an offshoot of the Tennessee Synod, was organized.

2. Four of these synods, namely, the North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia, left the General Synod in 1863, and in the following year (in conjunction with the Synod of Georgia) at Concord, N. C., organized the General Synod of the Ev. Luth. Church in the Confederate States of America (§ 10, 2). The reason for this action was as follows: In 1861 the Southern States seceded, and the civil war with its horrors began. The

General Synod passed RESOLUTIONS condemning the originators and advocates of the war. The Southern pastors and congregations regarded the resolutions as being aimed at them. They believed that the political separation between the South and the North would be PERMANENT. They therefore resolved upon an ecclesiastical separation also. But when the newly formed body met again two years later, the war was over and the Union of the States restored. It was a question now whether the two synodical bodies should unite again. Since at this time the General Synod was distracted by the confessional controversies, and the Pennsylvania Synod had withdrawn from it; and since the Southern synods desired to place themselves upon a more positive confessional basis than that held by the General Synod, it was resolved to continue as a separate body, and simply to change the name to correspond with the change in political relations. The name adopted was, "The Evang. Luth. General Synod in North America," which was, however, soon changed to "The General Synod of the Evang. Luth. Church of the South." The reasons which induced it to assume the name which it now bears will be given in the following paragraph.

3. Two of the synods enumerated above (§ 14, 1), namely the TENNESSEE SYNOD and the HOLSTON SYNOD, had, as a matter of principle, refrained from joining the General Synod, and did not unite with this general body in the South.¹⁾ Their confessional standpoint had caused them to hold themselves aloof. After their separation from the northern General Synod the other synods of the South developed a more decided Lutheran consciousness. Their antithesis to the Tennessee Synod disappeared more and more. Moreover the synods south of the Potomac became convinced, that, in order to enjoy the inestimable advantages of concentration, they must either unite in the organization of a body which should include the greatest possible number of Southern synods, or else as individual synods seek

1) The little Mississippi Synod also did not join till later, but this was not due to conscientious scruples.

union with the larger ecclesiastical bodies of the North. Since the confessional differences had almost entirely disappeared, the way was open for the former course. In 1867 the Tennessee Synod already sent a representative to the convention of the Southern General Synod, to enter into negotiations respecting a union. Although this approach was hailed with joy, nineteen years elapsed before a union actually took place. On NOVEMBER 12 and 13, 1884, delegates from all the Southern synods finally came together to a conference in Salisbury, N. C., in order to deliberate the question of an organic union. This time there was a positive result. A DOCTRINAL BASIS was agreed upon, in accordance with which the Holy Scriptures were accepted as the only rule of faith and life, and the ecumenical symbols together with the unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct and faithful exhibition of the doctrines of Holy Scripture in matters of faith and practice. The other confessions of the Book of Concord were declared to be a correct and scriptural interpretation of the doctrines taught by the Augsburg Confession, and in full harmony with one and the same scriptural faith. After an understanding was reached on this important point, only the formalities remained to be arranged. This was done at the next meeting, June 23, 1886. From this time on we have the "United Synod of the South," this being the name which the new general body adopted. It numbers 200 pastors with 437 congregations and preaching-points, and 40,989 communicants. Its benevolent contributions for two years amounted to \$21,404.33.

§ 15. Characterization.

1. In its DOCTRINAL TENDENCY this body stands about midway between the General Synod and the General Council. In 1878 it arranged for an exchange of delegates with the General Synod, after having assured itself by a formal inquiry that the resolutions passed at the time of the civil

war (§ 14, 2) were not meant to question the Christian character of the Southern pastors.

2. In the matter of CHURCH POLITY the constitution of the General Synod of the South had decided that the general body should have legislative and judicial prerogatives. This was changed so as to read that in the INTERNAL AFFAIRS of the district synods the new general body, namely, the United Synod of the South, should have only advisory authority; but that on GENERAL MATTERS of the Church, such as providing its literature, conducting its theological seminaries and its foreign and home missionary work, it should have legislative power (comp. §§ 11, 3; 27, 1; 29, 3a).

3. The United Synod of the South deserves special credit for the preparation of the COMMON SERVICE for the Lutheran Church of this country. The first action looking toward the preparation of such an order of service as a liturgical bond of union between the Lutheran synods of America, was taken by the General Synod of the South. Dr. Bachmann having, as early as 1870, referred to the importance of this matter for the English speaking Lutheran Church of America, the Synod in 1876 appointed a committee which, in conjunction with similar committees from the General Synod and the General Council, should, on the basis of the consensus of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century, prepare a uniform order of service for the three bodies. The final result of this action was the "Common Service."

§ 16. Institutions and Work.

I. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. a) The THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY of the United Synod of the South is located at Mt. Pleasant, S. C., near Charleston. Although this institution is still in its formative period, it has behind it a long and somewhat complicated history. As early as 1830

the South Carolina Synod founded a theological seminary at Lexington, S. C., with Dr. Hazelius (§ 6, 1) at its head from 1833 till his death in 1853. Then the South Carolina Synod carried on the work in connection with its college at Newberry, S. C. (see below). In the year 1872 it combined the work of its theological seminary with that of the General Synod of the South at Salem, Va. When this seminary was abolished in 1884, the South Carolina Synod again inaugurated a theological department in connection with its college at Newberry. In 1892 it gave the work over into the hands of the United Synod of the South, which continued it for a while longer at Newberry, and then transferred it, in 1898, to Mt. PLEASANT, near Charleston, where the seminary, with only eight students, is conducted at the present time under the direction of Dr. A. G. Voigt. — — There is also located within the bounds of the United Synod of the South, and in connection with the Tennessee-Synod, the THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF LENOIR COLLEGE, — an institution which aims to prepare for the ministry such young men as lack a classical education.

b) COLLEGES. NEWBERRY COLLEGE, which was begun in 1832 at Lexington, S. C., by the South Carolina Synod, and opened as a regular college in 1859 at Newberry, S. C., suffered heavily during the civil war, its buildings being almost totally destroyed. In 1868 it was transferred to Wal-halla, S. C., but was brought back to Newberry again in 1877. Congress granted the institution an indemnity of \$15,000 in 1878. It is attended by about 160 students. — ROANOKE COLLEGE was founded by the Virginia Synod in 1842 near Mt. Tabor, Va. In 1847 it was removed to Salem, Va. Dr. D. F. Bittle was president of the institution for twenty-three years. In 1878 Dr. J. D. Dreher became president, and in 1903 Dr. J. A. Morehead. It numbers 191 students. — LENOIR COLLEGE, founded in 1891, is meant chiefly to meet the wants of the Tennessee Synod. It has 138 students.

2. MISSION WORK. The HOME MISSIONARY WORK of the United Synod of the South is under the direction of a

"Board of Missions and Church Extension." Since 1893 a FOREIGN MISSION is conducted by the United Synod in Japan (Saga).

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

1. *The Henkels.* *Gerhard Henkel*, the head of the American branch of this family of pastors, was chaplain of Duke Maurice of Saxony, and was exiled when the Duke went over to the Roman Catholic Church. He was the first Lutheran preacher in Virginia, coming from there to Pennsylvania (§ 3, 6). His grandson was *Paul Henkel*, whose immediate descendants constitute the well-known family of Lutheran ministers. He was ordained in 1792 by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and became pastor at New Market, Va. He took part in the organization of the North Carolina Synod (§ 5, 2), and the Ohio Synod (§ 5, 3). He was the author of some excellent books, both in German and in English, and died in New Market, Va., in 1825. The second and fourth of his sons, *Philip* and *David*, took part in the organization of the Tennessee Synod (§ 5, 5). David was especially gifted, and wrote a number of valuable works. His third son, *Ambrosius*, also a minister, conducted the celebrated Lutheran publishing house in New Market. His fourth and sixth sons, *Andrew* and *Charles*, were pastors in Ohio. The Henkels knew how to employ the press in the service of the Lutheran Church. The oldest son of Paul Henkel, Solomon, a physician of note, had already possessed a printing press, by means of which he placed Lutheran books on the market. His son, another physician, conceived the idea of translating and publishing the Book of Concord,—a plan which was carried out under the direction of his uncle, the Rev. Ambrosius Henkel mentioned above. Up to 1903 the publishing house in New Market was in the hands of Dr. *Socrates Henkel*, a son of the Rev. David Henkel previously mentioned. The majority of the sons of the Henkels that have been enumerated here also entered the ministry. Baptismal names like "Eusebius," "Polycarp," "Irenaeus," "Ambrosius," reveal the spirit of consecration to the service of the Church which must have prevailed in this honorable family for generations.

2. *Dr. John Bachmann*, distinguished for his learning and practical talent, was born in 1790 in Rhinebeck, N. Y. His theological studies were pursued under the direction of Dr. Quitman (§ 6, 3). But, unlike his teacher, he was a positive Lutheran. From the time of his ordination till his death in 1874, a period of fifty-six years, he was pastor of St. John's Church in Charleston, S. C. In all important transactions of his time he took part as a leader. During the civil war, in which he was an enthusiastic

supporter of the South, his congregation became scattered. But he soon built it up again. He was prominent in the field of natural science and wrote books on American birds and quadrupeds which secured for him the friendship of Humboldt and Agassiz, and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Berlin. A valuable scientific collection was destroyed and he himself maltreated during the war by some regiments of Sherman's army. He wrote a book on "The Unity of the Human Race," and, during the conflict over the Lutheran confession, a "Defense of Luther."

CHAPTER VI. THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

§ 17. Its Origin.

THE delegates of the Pennsylvania Ministerium WITHDREW from the General Synod in May, 1866, at Fort Wayne, Ind. (§ 10, 3). A few weeks later the Pennsylvania Ministerium met in Lancaster, Pa., approved the action of its delegates, and FORMALLY DISSOLVED ITS CONNECTION with the General Synod. At the same convention it sent out a CALL to all synods which accepted the Unaltered Augsburg Confession to unite in the formation of a new general body on a positive Lutheran basis. As a result of this action, a meeting was held December 12-14 of the same year (1866) at READING, PA., in which thirteen¹ synods were represented. Dr. Loy of the Ohio Synod delivered the opening sermon, and Prof. G. Fritschel of the Iowa Synod officiated as German secretary².

2. The chief event at this meeting was the discussion and adoption of theses prepared by Dr. C. P. Krauth (§ 9, 2) on the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity." These theses, which were unanimously adopted, had to be approved by the individual synods before the latter could become members of the general body.²

3. The first convention of the "General Council," formed at Reading, was held in November 1867 AT FORT

1) These were the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the New York Ministerium, the Pittsburg Synod, the Minnesota Synod, The English Synod of Ohio; and,—in addition to these, which had belonged to the General Synod,—the Joint Synod of Ohio, the English District Synod of Ohio, the Wisconsin Synod, the Michigan Synod, the Iowa Synod, the Canada Synod, the Norwegian Synod, and even the Missouri Synod.

2) These "Principles," which demanded the acceptance of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense without mental reservation, and declared that the other symbolical writings are in the perfect harmony of one and the same Scriptural faith, are given by Jacobs, p. 472 seq.

WAYNE, IND., — at the very place, therefore, at which the rupture had occurred. Here it appeared that the following synods had adopted the "Principles" laid down at Reading, and had thus united with the new body: 1) The Pennsylvania Ministerium (three-fourths English), 2) the New York Ministerium (German), 3) The Pittsburg Synod (three-fourths English), 4) the English Synod of Ohio, 5) the Synod of Wisconsin (German), 6) the English District Synod of Ohio, 7) the Michigan Synod (German), 8) the Swedish Augustana Synod, 9) the Minnesota Synod (German), 10) the Canada Synod (German), 11) the Texas Synod (German), 12) the Illinois Synod (German), 13) the Iowa Synod (German). The JOINT SYNOD OF OHIO also sent delegates, but was not prepared to unite with the new body, because, in spite of the adoption of the Principles of Faith and Polity, it still objected to some things as un-Lutheran. It requested the General Council to express itself on the following FOUR POINTS: 1. Chiliasm, 2. Altar-fellowship, 3. Pulpit-fellowship, 4. Secret Societies. The IOWA SYNOD also asked for an expression of opinion on the last three of these points.¹ Because the General Council was not prepared to give a decisive utterance on these points,² the delegates of the Ohio Synod withdrew; and before the close of the convention, the delegates of the Iowa Synod also declared that their synod could not yet unite with the General Council. But since the latter body had adopted the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity," it was granted THE PRIVILEGE OF DEBATE, — a privilege which it still exercises. After the next convention of the General Council in 1868 at Pittsburg, Pa. (where the Texas Synod united with it), the WISCONSIN SYNOD withdrew (§ 21 and 25, 1). After the meeting at Akron, O., in 1871 (see below) the MINNESOTA SYNOD (§ 21 and 25, 2), and the ILLINOIS SYNOD also severed their connection with it. The latter was merged into the Missouri Synod (§ 10, 3). In 1887 the MICHIGAN SYNOD

1) For the reason why the first point was not included see § 23, 2, b.

2) For the reason, see § 18.

also withdrew (§ 31). In 1895 the TEXAS SYNOD united with Iowa. With regard to other synods, which joined the General Council at a later date, see § 19, 7-12.

§ 18. The Character of the General Council.

The Four Points, concerning which the Ohio and Iowa synods desired an official utterance at the first meeting of the General Council, have since then played a prominent part in its history. It might, indeed, be said, that THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THIS BODY IS A HISTORY OF THESE FOUR POINTS. It was no easy matter for the new general body to shape its course. It desired to build upon decisively Lutheran principles. But what the German synods of the West imperatively demanded, the more Americanized synods of the East, whose congregations and pastors had an altogether different history, were unable to carry through. It was especially the question of pulpit- and altar-fellowship, the so-called Galesburg Rule, which caused the General Council much difficulty. In brief the history of that question is this:—

At the convention in Lancaster, O., in 1870, President Dr. Krauth, in answer to a question by the Minnesota Synod, declared: "THE RULE IS: LUTHERAN PULPITS ARE FOR LUTHERAN MINISTERS ONLY; LUTHERAN ALTARS ARE FOR LUTHERAN COMMUNICANTS ONLY." At the following convention at AKRON, O., the representatives of the Iowa Synod desired that these words should be adopted as an official declaration. The General Council thereupon adopted the following:—

1. The *rule* is: Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars are for Lutheran communicants only.
2. The *exceptions* to the rule belong to the sphere of privilege, not of right.
3. The *determination of the exceptions* is to be made in consonance with these principles by the conscientious judgment of pastors, as the cases arise.

At GALESBURG, ILL., in 1875, on account of similar resolutions of the Augustana Synod, the FIRST POINT was re-affirmed. Points 2 and 3 were passed over. This Galesburg Rule was violently criticised by the press, and caused much disturbance in the Church for a long time, chiefly because points 2 and 3 seemed to be set aside. There were then, as there are still, TWO PARTIES in the General Council. The one, to which the Germans and to a large extent the Swedes also belonged, with Dr. Krauth on its side, insisted UPON THE ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY OF THE GALESBURG RULE. The other, to which all the English belonged, INSISTED THAT POINTS 2 AND 3 OF THE AKRON DECLARATION MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, and that these are not nullified by the Galesburg Rule.

With RESPECT TO LANGUAGE the General Council is undergoing a rapid transition into English. The English official organ is "The Lutheran"; the German "Der lutherische Herold." The organ of the Swedish Augustana Synod (§ 19, 5), which occupies a somewhat independent position within the general body, is "Augustana."

It may be added, that from its beginning the General Council possessed a comparatively large number of MEN OF EXCEPTIONAL ABILITY AND SCIENTIFIC ATTAINMENTS, who were able to use both the German and the English languages, and who laid a solid basis for the English Lutheran Church in America.

§ 19. Its Present Composition.

The General Council is composed of the following twelve synods: The Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the Ministerium of New York, the Pittsburg Synod, the District Synod of Ohio, the Swedish Augustana Synod, the Canada Synod, the Chicago Synod, the Synod of the Northwest, the Synod of Manitoba, the Pacific Synod, the Synod of New York and New England, and the Nova Scotia Synod.

1. THE MINISTERIUM OF PENNSYLVANIA, the "Mother-synod," (§§ 4; 7, 1-3; 10, 3; 17, 1-3) is, if we except the Swedish Augustana Synod, the largest synod in the General Council. According to the statistics of 1903 it numbers 356 pastors, 576 congregations, and 129,000 communicants. It is divided into ten conferences, one of these being the missionary conference in India. Only one of these conferences is entirely German. The Theological SEMINARY AT MT. AIRY, Philadelphia, the chief theological school of the General Council, and MUHLENBERG COLLEGE at Allentown, a flourishing institution, belong to the Pennsylvania Ministerium. (§ 20, 1, b, a).

2. The MINISTERIUM OF NEW YORK (§§ 5, 1; 6, 3; 7, 1-2; 10, 3; 17, 1-3) numbered, after the withdrawal of the English members (see tenth synod, below), 177 pastors, 143 congregations, and 50,000 communicants. In many respects this synod has had A CHECKERED HISTORY. Under the extended presidency of Dr. Quitman it became strongly RATIONALISTIC. Then under the influence of Dr. Hazelius, the head of Hartwick Seminary (§ 6, 1), it returned to AN EVANGELICAL BASIS. But as Dr. Hazelius had been reared in the Moravian Church, and lacked a distinctively Lutheran consciousness, the synod now fell under the sway of the METHODISTIC INFLUENCES which prevailed so largely in the first half of the nineteenth century. A re-action from this tendency brought the synod in the sixth decade upon a FIRM LUTHERAN BASIS. In 1859 it adopted the confessional paragraph which the General Synod at a later date, 1869, adopted as its own at Washington, D. C. (§ 11, 1, b). Following the example of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, it severed its connection with the General Synod in 1867, and, adopting the "Principles" of the General Council, placed itself upon the basis of all the symbolical books.—Equally checkered is the history of the New York Ministerium with respect to the LANGUAGE QUESTION. At its organization it was GERMAN, and remained so for 25 years. Then for more than 50 years the business of synod was transacted in the ENGLISH LANGUAGE. After 1867 it again became

an almost EXCLUSIVELY GERMAN BODY, because the English members left the synod in that year of the crisis (§ 10, 3), and because, on account of the large immigration, many German congregations were established in the years that followed. Before long, however, especially since 1888, English congregations sprang up within the bounds of the synod; and as a consequence a STRONG ENGLISH CONFERENCE was formed. In 1902 the English members organized the SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND; and thus the New York Ministerium has again become a PURELY GERMAN body. — — In addition to the one mentioned above, other synods went forth from the New York Ministerium: The HARTWICK SYNOD (§ 7, 3), the ENGLISH SYNOD OF NEW YORK, and the little NEW JERSEY SYNOD, the two latter of which united under the name of "The Synod of New York and New Jersey," and joined the General Synod (§ 10, 3). — When the New York Ministerium separated from the General Synod (1867), Hartwick Seminary (§ 19, 4) remained in the hands of the English minority which withdrew from the Ministerium. Since 1885, the Ministerium again possesses its own educational institution, WAGNER COLLEGE. It also draws upon the theological seminary at Kropp (Germany) for its supply of ministers.

3. The PITTSBURG SYNOD was founded in 1845 by 8 pastors, who had the oversight of 40 congregations. It united with the General Synod in 1853. In the year of the rupture at Fort Wayne (1866) the Pittsburg Synod withdrew, and took part in the organization of the General Council. Ten pastors, however, left the synod on this account (§ 10, 3). At present the Pittsburg Synod consists of 133 pastors, 177 congregations, and 27,000 communicants. On account of the missionary zeal it has always manifested, it is called the "MISSIONARY SYNOD." Its missionaries have gone to Canada, Texas and Minnesota, and laid the basis for the synods organized in those regions. The leading spirit of this body was DR. W. A. PASSAVANT (see Biographical Sketch at the close of this chapter). His name is connected

with the founding of many INSTITUTIONS OF MERCY which to-day are an ornament to the Lutheran Church in this country: The Orphanage at Rochester, Pa., the Deaconess House and a Home for the Aged at Pittsburg, Pa., etc. (§ 20, 1, c). The educational institution of this synod is THIEL COLLEGE at Greenville, Pa.

4. The ENGLISH DISTRICT SYNOD OF OHIO was organized in 1857 as a district of the Ohio Synod. When the latter refused to join the General Council (§ 17, 3), the former united with the general body and thus severed its connection with the synod (§ 28, 1). It numbers 43 pastors, 76 congregations, and 12,000 communicants.

5. The AUGUSTANA SYNOD was organized by Swedes and Norwegians in 1860 at Clinton, Wis.

a) The EARLY HISTORY of those who formed this synod is interesting. In 1850 the Rev. L. P. ESBJOERN, who had lately arrived from Sweden with a company of his countrymen, organized a Swedish Lutheran congregation at ANDOVER, ILL., another at Galesburg, Ill., and still others at other places, and took pastoral charge of them all. He opened negotiations with a number of Norwegians, and together with these took part in the formation of the Synod of Northern Illinois, which united with the General Synod in 1853. In 1852 the Rev. T. N. Hasselquist came over from Sweden, and took charge of the congregation at Galesburg. In the following year the Rev. E. Carlson arrived and took charge of a Swedish congregation in Chicago. Both these men, together with Esbjörn, were destined to exert a wide influence. The stream of Scandinavian immigration was exceedingly great in those days, and spread especially over Minnesota, where the Swedes to-day constitute about one-sixth of the population. The work grew rapidly, and soon the Scandinavians had three conferences: the Chicago, the Mississippi, and the Minnesota. In 1857 a Scandinavian professorship was established in connection with the "Illinois State University" at Springfield, Ill., which belonged to the Northern Illinois Synod, and which to-day is the Practical Seminary of the Missouri Synod.

(§ 24, 1). The first incumbent of this professorship was Pastor Esbjörn. In 1860, during the disturbances in the General Synod (§ 10, 2) Esbjörn and his students withdrew from the institution. On June 5 of the same year the Scandinavian conferences organized themselves into "The Scandinavian Ev. Luth. Augustana Synod of North America," with Hasselquist as its first president, and Esbjörn as professor in its own institution now established independently at Chicago.

b) The DEVELOPMENT of the Augustana Synod has been astonishing. In the year of its organization it numbered 27 pastors, 49 congregations, and 4,967 communicants. Although ten years later the Norwegians withdrew in order to found a separate synod (§ 33), and a conflict had to be waged in the years 1872-75 against Waldenström¹ and his adherents, the synod in 1903 numbered 501 pastors, 956 congregations, and 131,000 communicants. In 1894 it was made a delegate body, and its eight conferences received larger powers; but the ordination of pastors is reserved to the synod.

c) ITS INSTITUTIONS. First of all we must mention AUGUSTANA COLLEGE and SEMINARY at ROCK ISLAND, ILL. The theological seminary mentioned above, and originally located at Chicago, was removed to Paxton, Ill., in 1863. As Esbjörn at this time returned to Sweden, Hasselquist became professor in his place and the head of the institution, — a position which he retained as long as he lived (till 1891). In 1875 the Augustana Theological Seminary, together with Augustana College, was removed to Rock Island, Ill., where it still remains as one of the best theological seminaries of the Lutheran Church in this country. — —

1) Waldenström, the principal of the Latin school at Gefle, Sweden, strenuously opposed the Church's doctrine of atonement and justification, especially the vicarious sufferings of Christ. He also ignored the fact that the ministry is an official calling in the Church, and let the Sacraments be administered by laymen. As in Sweden, so also in America during a visit which he made here, he created considerable stir by his writings and addresses. The Congregationalists, who especially fraternized with him, conferred upon him the doctor's degree. His adherents are known by the name of Mission Friends, but their growth has been inconsiderable.

BETHANY COLLEGE at Lindborg, Kansas, was founded in 1881 by Dr. C. Swensson.——GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE, which is under the direction of the Minnesota Conference, was founded in 1862 at Red Wing, Minn. At first it was called "Minnesota Elementar Skola." In 1863 it was removed to Union, Minn., and named "Ansgar Academy." Finally, in 1876, it was located at St. Peter, Minn. under its present name. ——LUTHER ACADEMY at Wahoo, Saunders, Co., Neb., founded in 1883, belongs to the Nebraska Conference of the Augustana Synod. ——Besides these institutions, the Swedish Augustana Synod also has TWO ACADEMIES, SIX ORPHANAGES and THREE HOSPITALS. The deaconess institution at Omaha, Neb. also deserves special mention.

Rev. *Tufve Nilssen Hasselquist*, D. D. (Muhlenberg College, 1871), patriarch of the Augustana Synod, was born in Busby parish in the diocese of Lund, Sweden, March 2, 1816. He graduated at the University of Lund, continued his theological studies there, and was ordained in 1839. He served as pastor at Efverlöf, Christianstad, Glimakra, and Akarp, and was very popular in these charges as an earnest and evangelical preacher. In 1852 he received and accepted a call to the newly organized Swedish Lutheran congregation at Galesburg, Ill., and arrived there in October of the same year. Amid many privations and with unremitting ardor he successfully prosecuted his work in this congregation for eleven years. Hasselquist was one of the founders of the Scandinavian Lutheran Augstana Synod in 1860. He was its first president, and retained this office till 1870, when he went on a visit to Sweden. Besides attending to the work in his own parish, he made several extensive journeys in order to visit his scattered countrymen. In 1855 he began the publication of "Hemlandet," the first Swedish political paper of America, and of "Rätta Hemlandet," the first church-paper, which in 1869 was changed to "Augustana," the official organ of the Augustana Synod. He remained editor of the latter paper till his death. He was the author of an excellent "Commentary on Ephesians." He was president of Augustana College and was also professor in the seminary, where during his last years he filled the chair of homiletics and pastoral theology. In connection with his office as president he had charge first of the Swedish Lutheran congregation at Paxton and then of that at Rock Island, retaining the latter parish and the presidency till his death on February 4, 1891. Dr. Hassel-

quist was a model of sincere piety and devout zeal for Christ and His Church. As a theological professor he may be reckoned with the conservative Biblical school of A. Bengel; and he is rightly regarded as foremost among the preachers and Bible expositors of the Augustana Synod.¹⁾

6. THE CANADA SYNOD is an exclusively German body. Although there were some scattered German congregations in Canada at a very early date — a German Lutheran Church being dedicated at Williamsburg in 1779 — the organization of a synod on that territory followed only upon the missionary operations of the Pittsburg Synod, which sent REV. G. BASSLER, and afterwards REV. C. P. DIEHL, as an itinerant preacher, to Canada (§ 19. 3). In 1853 a conference of the Pittsburg Synod was organized here. In 1861 this conference entered upon an independent existence under the name, "Ev. Luth. Synod of Canada." Pastors for this synod are drawn mostly from Kropp (Schleswig). The Canada Synod numbers 38 pastors, 75 congregations, and 10,000 communicants.

7. THE CHICAGO SYNOD is the present name of a little body which was organized in 1871 as the Indiana Synod. The Tennessee Synod had organized an INDIANA SYNOD as early as 1835. But in consequence of doctrinal difficulties and personal differences, that body had dissolved in 1859, and re-organized itself at once as the "Union Synod." When the General Council was formed, this body desired to unite with it, especially in view of the fact that other congregations of the General Council hitherto belonging to the English District Synod of Ohio (see above) might unite with the "Union Synod." Accordingly a second dissolution of the synod took place (1871), and a new organization was effected under the name of "THE INDIANA SYNOD." Later its name was changed to that of the "CHICAGO SYNOD." It numbers 36 pastors, 51 congregations, and 4,600 communicants.

1) This sketch of Dr. Hasselquist has been kindly furnished by Prof. N. Forsander, D. D., of Rock Island, Ill.

8. THE ENGLISH SYNOD OF THE NORTHWEST. The General Council had begun missions at strategic points in the northwestern part of the United States, in Wisconsin, Dakota, Minnesota, Utah, and Washington. The English Synod of the Northwest was organized in order to secure a base of operations for this work. The existence of this synod has been the source of some dissatisfaction with the General Council on the part of the Augustana Synod (§ 19, 5), inasmuch as the latter desired on its own account to undertake the work of caring for the Swedes who were becoming anglicized. The synod numbers 17 pastors, 21 congregations, and 3,000 communicants.

9. THE SYNOD OF MANITOBA was organized in 1897 by the pastors and congregations of the German Home Mission Board of the General Council in Northwest Canada, and united with the General Council in the same year. It numbers 15 pastors, 60 congregations, and 3,600 communicants.

10. THE PACIFIC SYNOD was formed in 1901. It consists of 13 pastors, 16 congregations, and 1,500 communicants, scattered along the western coast. It united with the General Council.

11. THE SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND is the name of the new English synod organized by former members of the New York Ministerium on September 24, 1902, at Utica, N. Y. (comp. §19, 2). This synod at the time of its organization had 37 pastors, 37 congregations and 10,535 communicants.

12. THE NOVA SCOTIA SYNOD was organized in 1903 with 6 pastors and 24 congregations.

§ 20. Institutions and Work of the General Council.

I. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

(a) THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES. I. The THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT MT. AIRY, PHILADELPHIA, (belonging to the Pennsylvania Synod,) a "pium desiderium" of Mühl-

enberg, was begun in 1864 in the rooms of the Publication House of the General Synod in Philadelphia. Later it was located in its own building on Franklin Street; and in 1889 it was transferred to Mt. Airy, a suburb of the city. Drs. C. W. Schaeffer, Mann, Krauth and Krotel were the first professors. The distinguished Assyriologist Dr. Hilprecht was also professor here for a short time. Drs. Jacobs and Spaeth are among the present professors at this institution. The seminary has sent forth about 600 pastors. During one year its students numbered 92. The institution possesses a valuable property and fine buildings, an endowment fund of \$200,000, and a library that is of great value to the Lutheran Church. 2. THE SEMINARY AT CHICAGO, founded by Dr. Passavant, was opened in 1891. Supported especially by the Chicago Synod and the English Synod of the Northwest, it has set itself the task of supplying their territory with English Lutheran pastors. Although an institution of the General Council and accepting the obligation of the "Fundamental Principles" (§ 17, 2), it possesses at the same time a somewhat INTER-SYNODICAL CHARACTER, in that it employs professors from other Lutheran synods and numbers among its students many men who are preparing themselves for service in other Lutheran bodies. The head of this seminary is DR. R. F. WEIDNER, and other professors are Drs. Gerberding and Krauss. 3. THE AUGUSTANA SEMINARY of the Swedes at Rock Island, (comp. above), under the direction of Dr. G. A. Andreen, has educated nearly 500 ministers.

(b) COLLEGES. 1. MUHLENBERG COLLEGE at Allentown, Pa., (belonging to the Pennsylvania Ministerium) was founded in 1867, taking the place of the "Allentown Seminary," existing there since 1848. Its first president was Rev. F. A. Muhlenberg, D. D. He was followed by Drs. Sadtler and Seip, the latter of whom remained at the head of the institution till his death in 1903. He was succeeded by Rev. J. A. W. Haas, D. D. 2. WAGNER COLLEGE at Rochester, N. Y., (founded in 1883), is under the direction of the New York Ministerium. For many years Dr. J.

Nicumi was its president. 3. THEI COLLEGE at Greenville, Pa., is the educational institution of the Pittsburgh Synod, (see above § 19, 3). After an existence of several years as a high-school (with Dr. E. F. Giese as its first head) it was organized in 1870 under its present name. 4. For the COLLEGES OF THE SWEDES ("Augustana" at Rock Island, Ill., "Bethany" at Lindsborg, Kas., "Gustavus Adolphus" at St. Peter, Minn., and "Luther Academy" at Wahoo, Neb.) See § 19, 5c.

2. INSTITUTIONS OF MERCY. The General Council has a number of important ORPHANAGES: one at Germantown, Pa., another at Mt. Vernon, N. Y., a third at Zelienople, Pa., and a fourth at Sulphur Springs, N. Y., besides five within the bounds of the Augustana Synod; namely, at Andover, Ill., Vasa, Minn., Stanton, Ia., Mariedahl, Kas., and Jamestown, N. Y. Through the efforts of Dr. Passavant (see Biographical Sketch following) the General Council became an important factor in the development of the FEMALE DEACONATE. He founded hospitals in MILWAUKEE, Chicago, and Jacksonville, Ill. Through the liberality of John D. Lankenau, the MARY J. DREXEL DEACONESS MOTHERHOUSE, the largest and most practical institution of its kind in the whole evangelical Church of America, was established. The Swedish Augustana Synod possesses a Deaconess Institute at Omaha, Neb.

3. MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

(a) FOREIGN MISSIONS. The history of the foreign missionary work of the General Council is closely connected with that of the General Synod. (§ 12, 2). In consequence of the separation at Fort Wayne in 1866 and the organization of the General Council, the General Synod was no longer able to carry on the entire work which it had begun in India. It resolved, therefore, to surrender a part of its territory (Rajahmundry and Samulcotta) to the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society in England. When FATHER HEYER, who had retired from the foreign missionary work, and was at the time visiting in Germany, heard of this fact, he hastened back to America. Arriving just in time to at-

tend the convention of the Pennsylvania Synod in Lancaster, Pa., (in the spring of 1866; comp. §17, 1) he prevailed upon that body, which was about to send out the call to organize the General Council, to take this mission field into its care and save it to the Lutheran Church. Although 77 years old, he declared himself ready to return to India and organize the work. He went. He had brought with him from Germany Rev. H. C. SCHMIDT (from Flensburg, Schleswig), who had been educated for the foreign field. In 1870 Schmidt¹ also was sent to the missionary station at Rajahmundry. In the following year, after having completed the work of organization, Father Heyer returned to America. The General Council contributes biennially the sum of \$52,000 for foreign missions.

(b) HOME MISSIONS. While the foreign work is carried on by the whole General Council as a body, the home mission work is not organized on the same plan. Until the year 1881, each synod provided for the organization of congregations within its own bounds. At that date a partial CENTRALIZATION took place through the appointment of three separate Home Mission Boards of the General Council, an English, a German and a Swedish. The German Board entered into negotiations with the Rev. Mr. PAULSEN, of Kropp (Schleswig), and through the institution which the latter founded at that place secured a very capable supply of ministers. The General Council, however, soon demanded that the candidates from Kropp should spend the last year of their course in the seminary at Philadelphia. To this demand, the Rev. Mr. Paulsen refused to consent. A bitter controversy ensued with the result that all OFFICIAL relations between the General Council and Kropp were broken off. Pastor Paulsen, however, still conducts his institution for the benefit of the German synods of this body, and his seminary receives financial support from them. (Comp. Ch. VI. §19, 2 and 6). For the establishment and main-

1) Dr. Schmidt, under whose management the missionary work became hopelessly tangled, was succeeded in 1902 by Dr. Harpster, a member of the General Synod.

tenance of mission congregations, the three Boards named above and the various synods received during the biennium of 1901 and 1902 the sum of \$161,502. The LUTHERAN EMIGRANT HOUSE in New York is also a branch of the Home Missionary work of the General Council. It was founded by the sainted Rev. W. Berkemeyer, who remained at its head for 25 years till his death in 1899. The present missionary in charge of the institution is the Rev. G. Doering.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

For sketches of *Drs. C. P. Krauth* and *W. J. Mann*, who after the rupture at Fort Wayne devoted their rich gifts to the interests of the General Council, see the Biographical Sketches on p. 62.

Dr. W. A. Passavant was of Huguenot descent. He received his theological education at Gettysburg; published, while still a student, the first Lutheran almanac; served congregations in Baltimore and Pittsburg; published "The Missionary," which was combined with the Lutheran in 1861; founded "The Workman" in 1880 and remained its editor till his death. He entered into negotiations with Fliedner of Kaiserswerth, and introduced the deaconess work into the Lutheran Church of America (§ 20, 2); founded orphanages, and was active in the origination of Thiel College and the Theological Seminary at Chicago. Died 1894.

Dr. B. M. Schmucker, a son of S. S. Schmucker (p. 61), was educated in the college and seminary at Gettysburg. Through the influence of Dr. Krauth he was led to identify himself with the conservative Lutheran element, and thus to unite with the General Council. He was a master in the field of Liturgies, and the Church Book of the General Council (English and German) is to a very large extent a product of his liturgical and hymnological studies. He was also a member of the committee entrusted with the preparation of the "Common Service" (§ 15, 3), the introduction to which was written by him. He died in 1888.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MISSOURI SYNOD AND THE OTHER PARTS OF THE SYNODEICAL CONFERENCE.

§ 21. Preliminary Remarks.

The SYNODEICAL CONFERENCE, the largest general body of Lutherans in America (numbering, in 1902, 2,129 pastors, 2,772 congregations and preaching-points, and 599,951 communicants) was organized in 1872 at MILWAUKEE, Wis. by the union of the Missouri, the Wisconsin, the Minnesota, the Illinois, the Norwegian, and the Ohio synods. In 1882, in consequence of the controversy on predestination, the Ohio Synod withdrew. The Norwegians, without taking issue with Missouri on the question of predestination, also withdrew. The Illinois Synod (§ 7, 3; 10, 3; 17, 3) was merged into the Missouri Synod. The Wisconsin and the Minnesota synods united with the Michigan Synod (which left the General Council in 1887) as one synod. The SYNODEICAL CONFERENCE, THEREFORE, TO-DAY IS CONSTITUTED as follows: 1. The Missouri Synod; 2. The Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan, and 3. The English Conference of Missouri (§ 26), which was added in 1888.

A.

THE MISSOURI SYNOD.

§ 22. Its Beginnings.

1. WALTHER AND THE SAXONS. The man who became the instruments of God's hand for the founding and establishing of the Missouri Synod, the strictest of all the Lutheran bodies of this country, was CARL FERDINAND WILLIAM WALTHER. He was born October 25, 1811 at Langenschursdorf in Saxony, where his father was pastor.

After concluding his course at the gymnasium, he believed himself to be meant for the study of music. But the displeasure of his father at such a resolution determined him to give up the idea, and accordingly we find him in 1829 studying theology at Leipzig. But while he was studying theology, he was wholly ignorant of spiritual things. He desired light: but pastors and professors were under the spell of rationalism and could not satisfy him. He bought a Bible, paying for it his last pfennig, and not knowing where he was to obtain his next meal. He took part in a gathering of students who read together from the Word of God and the writings of Arndt, Francke, Scriver, Bogatzky etc., and who prayed together. Among these students was Franz Delitzsch, who in his book "Concerning the House of God and the Church" speaks very feelingly of those hours of devotion. As good counsel for tempted souls was scarce in those days, it was inevitable that Walther and his associates should hear of the man who, as pastor of the congregation at Dresden, had been a blessing to many by his spiritual advice. It was pastor MARTIN STEPHAN, who was later to become of such fateful significance for the beginnings of the Missouri Synod. With a deep insight into Biblical truth, he preached the crucified Jesus,—a rare thing in those days —, and by his sermons and pastoral ministrations exercised a large influence upon the minds of men. From the depth of his own experience he could command the right words for the combatting of every doubt and temptation. Accordingly there gathered around him a large number of souls that were seeking salvation, and his fame reached the ears of the students at Leipzig.

In his DISTRESS OF SOUL the student Walther turned to Stephan, and a letter from the latter, together with the encouragement of the wife of a tax-collector at Leipzig, were the means in God's hands to give him peace of soul through the assurance of pardon for his sins. — — But through these inner conflicts, which were accompanied by constant privation, his health gave way. Suffering with an affection of the lungs, he had to leave the university and return home.

But this also was part of God's plan for him; for in his father's library he found the works of Luther, studied them with unwearied application, and laid the basis for that thorough acquaintance with the works of Luther and of the old dogmaticians which afterwards distinguished him. In 1834 he finally completed his studies, became a private teacher till 1836, and was ordained as PASTOR AT BRAEUNDORF, SAXONY, in 1837. For more than forty years the word of the Cross had not been proclaimed in this place. Religious and moral indifference reigned. The order of service, the hymn-book and the catechism were rationalistic. The superintendent who was placed over him, and the schoolmaster who was placed under him, were both rationalistic also. His efforts to introduce Lutheran doctrine and Lutheran practice met a determined resistance. Other members of the circle of Bible students at Leipzig, who had meanwhile entered the ministry, met with the same experience. These therefore, as well as Walther, gladly signified their consent when Stephan called on them to leave Germany with him and to found an ideal Church in America.

The DETERMINATION TO EMIGRATE had grown stronger and stronger in the mind of Stephan ever since Dr. Kurtz had visited Germany in the interest of the seminary at Gettysburg (§ 7, 4). The immediate occasion for the carrying out of this determination was as follows: By his blessed activity in Dresden, Stephan had gained an ever increasing following. But the love of those for whom he had been a guide to the Saviour partook more and more of the nature of idolatry. He did not resist the temptations which this fact involved. He gradually began to imagine that he was infallible; he became imperious; and at last his unexcelled gifts for pastoral ministrations became a snare of the flesh. He made provision for PROMENADES on summer evenings for his followers of both sexes, and these promenades usually lasted till morning. In spite of the warnings of his superiors, indeed in spite of the express prohibition of the authorities, he continued them until at last he was arrested by the police under suspicious circumstances. At

the same time the Bohemian congregation formally complained of gross neglect. Although an offense against morality could not be clearly proved against him, he was DEPOSED FROM HIS OFFICE. His followers regarded this as a persecution endured for Christ's sake, and consequently only waited for a word from him to emigrate. A common fund, to which 125,000 thalers had been contributed, was entrusted to his care. Then, when the emigrants, 700 in number, had departed in groups, Stephan left Dresden in the middle of the night, secretly and without taking leave of his wife and children, and joined his followers at Bremen. On FIVE VESSELS the emigrants, including six ministers, ten candidates of theology, and four school teachers, set out for America. One of the ships, the "Amalie," went down; the others reached New Orleans. On February 19, 1839 the last of the immigrants arrived at the appointed destination, St. Louis. — — On the way over Stephan had already let himself be elected by his followers, men and women, as their BISHOP, to whom they swore unconditional obedience. At the command of the bishop, who all the while dealt with the funds of the immigrants in the most irresponsible manner and of course greatly depleted them, they removed to PERRY COUNTY, 110 miles south of St. Louis. Stephan ruled like a pasha. The lines were already laid for the erection of an episcopal palace for him, when the colonists were scandalized by a dreadful DISCOVERY. Among the immigrants who had remained behind in St. Louis were several girls who confessed that during the voyage across the ocean Stephan, by an abuse of God's holy name and Word, had succeeded in seducing them. Walther came from St. Louis to the settlement, arriving at the dead of night and bringing the proofs of Stephan's guilt. In the Latin language he revealed to a candidate of theology, who reclined beside him on the straw in the sleeping apartment, what he would make known to the whole company on the morrow; namely, that Stephan under the mask of a pastor had led a life of sin. A formal court was convened, and Stephan was deposed from office. He was transported across the Mississippi in

a boat, supplied with sufficient provisions, and set ashore near the "Devil's Bake-oven," a phantastically shaped rock. (1839). Not far from here, a few miles from Red Bud, Randolph County, Ill., he soon found a small congregation. He died there a few years later (1846) at the age of 69 years, without showing any signs of real repentance.— — The colonists now suffered GREAT WANT. The general TREASURY, as they now discovered, was empty, owing to Stephan's extravagance. And as the land had first to be made arable before any crops could be expected, the direst poverty stared the colonists in the face. Still worse was the SPIRITUAL CONFUSION which resulted from their experience with Stephan. They now recognized that they had done wrong in following him so blindly; that they had been guilty of sin in practically making an idol of him; and that they had become the occasion of giving offense in the eyes of the world. Indeed, it now seemed to them that they had committed a great sin in thus following their own ways and dissolving their connection with the Church at home. The pastors themselves imagined that their official acts were invalid because they had forsaken their calling in the old country. Consciences were confused and distressed. Divisions began to appear. Some openly renounced the public services. Pastor Bünger resigned his office from conscientious scruples. The confusion lasted through the entire summer. The matter finally resolved itself into the crucial QUESTION: "Does the true Christian Church really exist or not among those who emigrated with Stephan?" To this question some answered yes, and others answered no. (Fritschel, Vol. II, p. 172.)— —IT WAS WALTHER whom God used to console the tempted ones and to save them from despair.¹ Through continued study of the works of Luther and the Lutheran fathers, Walther recognized the errors of Stephan with respect to the Church and the minis-

¹⁾ In order to understand how Walther had been able to join Stephan, it must be borne in mind that he, as well as the majority of ministers and candidates, lived at so great a distance from Dresden that a just estimate of Stephan was hardly to be expected of them. In Walther's presence Stephan had always felt uncomfortable. He called Walther his Judas.

try. At the same time he became convinced that according to the 7th article of the Augsburg Confession THE CHURCH CONSISTS OF THE INVISIBLE COMMUNION OF SAINTS; that where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, there is the Church; and that consequently these congregations of the colonists were to be regarded as a part of the true Church of Christ, with full authority to call pastors. These convictions Walther successfully maintained in a disputation (1841). In this way he quieted the minds of the colonists, and brought about the organization of congregations which called their pastors. Meanwhile also the outward condition of the settlers improved, and a number of flourishing villages rose out of the wilderness. A log cabin (later the "CONCORDIA SEMINARY") had been erected to serve as a theological seminary building. Walther accepted a call to the congregation in St. Louis. There, from the year 1844, he published the "LUTHERANER." The seminary also was soon afterwards transferred to St. Louis, where it was destined to play so prominent a part in the upbuilding and guiding of the Missouri Synod.

2. WYNEKEN AND HIS APPEAL FOR HELP. Frederick Conrad Diedrich Wyneken was a man whose name will always be mentioned with respect in any history of the Lutheran Church of America. Six months before the Saxons had arrived on the Mississippi, he had landed in Baltimore as a candidate of theology. He had studied in Göttingen and Halle, had been rector of the Latin school in Bremervoerde in Hannover, and in company with a nobleman had traveled over France and Italy. He was a man of high culture, and his imposing appearance made a strong impression in high and low circles of society. Having had his attention attracted to the spiritual destitution of the German Lutherans in America by a missionary report, he had determined to serve the Lord in the new world. The missionary committee of the Pennsylvania Ministerium sent him to Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. Locating at FORT WAYNE he labored in every direction as a pioneer of the Lutheran Church. Having contracted an affection of the throat, he

returned to GERMANY in 1841 for the purpose of seeking a cure, but at the same time also of personally directing the attention of the German churches to the dreadful spiritual destitution among the members who had emigrated from their midst. By means of ADDRESSES, delivered in the cities in the presence of large audiences, but especially by means of a PAMPHLET which he published, entitled, "The Destitution of the German Lutherans in North America"¹ he aroused everywhere a warm interest in the cause he presented. SOCIETIES were formed (e. g. in Saxony, Mecklenburg, Hannover) for the purpose of gathering money to supply the Lutherans of North America with ministers. Pastor LOEHE of Neuendettelsau also turned his attention to this cause. And since he is the man through whom, by means of the money collected by the societies, preachers were prepared and sent forth, and since those whom he sent took so prominent a part in the founding and early work of the Missouri Synod, we shall now consider

3. LOEHE AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.² In the Nördlinger Sonntagsblatt Löhe had published an APPEAL for funds to relieve the great want of ministers in America; and in a short time he had already received 700 florins. At the same time a number of young mechanics announced their willingness to be trained for the work. Other organizations promised their support, and Löhe accordingly undertook, in a very modest way at first, the work of training men. In September, 1842, his FIRST MISSIONARIES (Burger and Ernst) arrived in New York. Their instructions were to seek positions as school teachers. In New York, they met the REV. MR. WINKLER, who had been called as professor at the theological seminary of the Ohio Synod at Colum-

1) The substance of this pamphlet, which clearly reveals Wyneken's missionary zeal, is given by Fritschel, Vol. II, pp. 130-138. A number of characteristic anecdotes of Pastor Wyneken are found on pp. 620-630 of Dr. Morris' "Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry."

2) Fritschel deserves the credit of having clearly exhibited, on the basis of the reports which Loehe published in the "Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und über Amerika" for the years 1843-1847, the important part which Loehe took in the organization of the strict Lutheran synods of America, especially of the Missouri Synod with its unexampled growth.

bus, O., and who was on the point of starting for that place. He persuaded them both to go with him to COLUMBUS and to prepare themselves for the ministry. They accompanied him, and this fact was the occasion of the TEMPORARY BOND BETWEEN LOEHE AND THE OHIO SYNOD. The latter requested the sending of more such students as had received a preliminary training. These were sent in rapid succession. Among them were some also who had received a university education. One of the latter was DR. SIHLER, who became the successor of Dr. Wyneken as pastor in FORT WAYNE, IND., and around whom the other men sent by Löhe grouped themselves as their leader. At that time, however, TWO TENDENCIES were striving for the upper hand: an ENGLISH tendency, desirous of making English the ruling language in the seminary at Columbus, and representing a laxer form of Lutheranism; and a GERMAN tendency, insisting inexorably upon the supremacy of the German language in the seminary, because, for the present at least, the German language was essential to the maintenance of a positive Lutheranism. Both parties were represented in the seminary, the latter by Prof. Winkler, and the former by Prof. C. F. Schaeffer.¹ The ENGLISH finally PREVAILED, and all the Löhe men, ten in number, left the synod. LOEHE SEVERED HIS RELATIONS WITH THE OHIO SYNOD, and from this time on kept in view the organization of an independent synod on a strict Lutheran basis.

Some other men whom Löhe had sent had gone to MICHIGAN in company with a considerable number of immigrants (1845). Here the Franconian colonies "Franckenmut," "Frankentrost," "Frankenlust" and "Frankenhilf" were established in Saginaw county, and here Löhe founded a seminary for the education of teachers. Among the pastors who came to this region were A. CRAEMER, who had come to Löhe as a candidate of theology and had been ordained by Dr. Kliefeth in the cathedral in Schwerin, and

1) Dr. Schaeffer was also professor in the seminary of the General Synod at Gettysburg from 1857-64, and in that of the General Council at Philadelphia from 1864-79.

who later labored for many years in the practical seminary of the Missouri Synod at Springfield, Ill. (§ 24, 1); GRAEBNER; missionary BAIERLEIN;¹ and later DEINDOERFER and GROSSMANN.² While the men mentioned before joined the Ohio Synod, these men united with the Michigan Synod,³ founded in 1840, but they promptly left it again as soon as it became clear that they could not within this body realize their ideal of strict Lutheran confessionalism.

4. ORGANIZATION AND GROWTH OF THE MISSOURI SYNOD. All the men whom we have described in the preceding paragraphs belong together: the SAXONS, who, after overcoming the principles of Stephan, had under the leadership of Walther won their way to the most thorough-going Lutheranism; WYNEKEN, who severed his connection with the General Synod in 1845 after having protested in its convention in Philadelphia against its un-Lutheran principles and practices; and the MEN SENT BY LOEHE, who had been unable to find congenial spirits in the Ohio and Michigan synods. These only needed to be brought together. The Löhe men took the first step. In September, 1845, they held a meeting in CLEVELAND, O., in which they announced the severance of their relations with the Ohio Synod, and then agreed to send a delegation, with Dr. Sihler at its head, to the Saxons at St. Louis, to negotiate for a closer union. Walther drew up a constitution which the Löhe men declared themselves ready to accept. In July of the same year the representatives of both sides met in Fort Wayne, Ind. Here the constitution was again taken into consideration, and it was resolved to hold the first convention of the "Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States"

1) When Löhe founded these colonies in Michigan he saw the possibility of *missionary work among the Indians*. This work, begun by Crämer and continued by Baierlein, is beautifully described by Baierlein himself in "Im Urwald bei den roten Indianern" and by Fritschel in "Die Indianermision in Michigan," a reprint from his "Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Amerika" (pp. 198-217).

2) These two names recall the rupture which took place later between Missouri and Löhe (§ 23, 2) and the founding of the Iowa Synod (§ 29, 1).

3) After the Löhe men withdrew, this small body was dissolved, and its members joined the Ohio Synod. It must not be confused with the Michigan Synod founded in 1860 (§ 31).

in CHICAGO in April 1847. This meeting was held. (For particulars, especially the fundamental principles of the constitution, see § 27, 1). In the meantime Löhe had founded a SEMINARY AT FORT WAYNE, in which men who had received a preliminary training in Germany completed their studies under the direction of Dr. Sihler. This institution was given into the charge of the synod. The "LUTHERANER," published by Walther, was made the synodical organ. The extraordinarily rapid growth of the synod, which during the years 1847 to 1851 increased from 15 pastors and 12 congregations to 81 pastors and 95 congregations, was due to a number of fortunate circumstances. The number of LOEHE MEN who joined during the next few years was very considerable. When the meeting was held in Fort Wayne in 1846, twenty-four Löhe men were present, and others were being continually sent over, so that in all the Missouri Synod received an accession of 84 pastors from Neuendettelsau. Then, also, the synod possessed two SEMINARIES (St. Louis and Fort Wayne), which became filled with students who were sent to them from Neuendettelsau, and indeed from all parts of Germany; for in the fatherland the Missouri Synod was now regarded as the only German and the only really Lutheran synod of America. The institution at Fort Wayne alone sent out 48 pastors between the years 1846 and 1854. It must be borne in mind, too, that at this very time great MASSES OF GERMAN IMMIGRANTS settled in the West, and desired the care of the Church. It should be mentioned also in this connection, that this synod contained a proportionately LARGE NUMBER OF THOROUGHLY EDUCATED MEN, who, with Walther at their head, were well fitted to fight their way through the violent doctrinal controversies which awaited the Missouri Synod. These circumstances taken together abundantly explain the unparalleled growth of this body.

§ 23. Its Doctrinal Controversies.

1. WITH THE BUFFALO SYNOD. In 1839, about eight months later than Stephan, REV. J. A. A. GRABAU, followed by a number of pastors (H. v. Rohr, L. Krause, and G. A. Kindermann) and about 1,000 souls out of his congregation in Erfurt, emigrated to America. Many of these persons settled in BUFFALO, N. Y., while others went to Wisconsin. In the year 1845 they organized at MILWAUKEE, Wis., a synod which they called "THE LUTHERANS WHO EMIGRATED FROM PRUSSIA." Later they called themselves the BUFFALO SYNOD.—The reason for that general emigration was the introduction of the Union. Grabau had resisted the introduction of the Union Agenda, and had consequently been imprisoned. At last, however, he had obtained permission to emigrate with his adherents.—Several years before the organization of the Buffalo Synod he sent out A PASTORAL LETTER to the congregations, and also sent a copy of the same to the "Saxons" on the Mississippi for their opinion. In this letter, as well as in later writings, Grabau gave expression to his views on the office of the MINISTRY AND THE CHURCH, and made the following assertions: A pastor who has not been called in accordance with the old regulations of the Lutheran Church has no right to exercise the office, dare not give the absolution, and, if he administers the Lord's Supper, the congregation receives nothing but bread and wine. Concerning ORDINATION he maintained that it alone gave to the pastor not only the RIGHT but the ABILITY to exercise the functions of his office. A pastor dare be called to a congregation only by the coöperation of the synodical ministerium, and under no circumstances by the congregation alone. The congregation has nothing to do with the passing of a sentence of excommunication, but only the pastor. The congregation must obey the pastor in all things that are not contrary to God's Word, not only in spiritual but also in external business matters.—In the doctrine of the CHURCH Grabau placed a one-sided emphasis upon its VISIBILITY: maintain-

ing that the one holy Christian Church confessed in the Apostles' Creed is the visible assembly of those who have the pure Word and Sacrament. Since these are found only in the Lutheran Church, she alone is the Church of Christ, and outside of her there is no Church, but only crowds and rabble. Some individual believers may be found among these, but they live in spiritual separation from the "crowds" even though they belong outwardly to them; inwardly they are members of the Lutheran Church and will join it as soon as they become acquainted with it. For only actual membership in the true Lutheran Church gives assurance of salvation.

The men of the Missouri Synod opposed these views with the following: The CHURCH in its real essence is invisible, and consists of the true believers who are found in any of the different churches. Only the membership in this invisible Church is unconditionally necessary to salvation.—Missouri went a step too far in saying that EVERYTHING visible is to be excluded from the idea of the Church, and that the Word and Sacraments are only signs by which the Church is known and do not belong to the conception of its nature. On this point the representatives of Missouri afterwards in a colloquium (see below) yielded to the Buffalo Synod, but very properly held fast the assertion that the Church in its nature is invisible.—In the doctrine of the MINISTRY the leaders of the Missouri Synod maintained the following propositions:—"Every Christian, as a spiritual priest, possesses *a*) the office of the Word, *b*) of baptizing, *c*) of blessing or consecrating the holy bread and wine, *d*) to bind and loose from sin, *e*) to offer, *f*) to pray for others, *g*) to judge concerning all doctrines." But since these functions must, in accordance with Christian order, be exercised by one person only, all the spiritual priests TRANSFER their priestly privileges to one person in their midst, namely, to the pastor. The ministry is therefore ONLY the functional exercise of the spiritual priesthood of all believers. From this standpoint the Mis-

sourians maintained in opposition to Grabau: The congregation has the right, without the coöperation of a synod, to transfer its rights and to call pastors. Congregations may be ADVISED but not REQUIRED to seek the counsel of synod. The congregation is the highest and final tribunal of the Church; it must prove the doctrine, and it alone dare suspend a pastor when his conduct and teaching conflict with God's Word. The power transferred by the congregation to the pastor is limited to such things as are expressly commanded in God's Word. In the matters which are not commanded by Scripture, and which belong therefore to the "adiaphora," the pastor has no authority.—The congregation holds the office of the keys, but only exercises it through the pastor.—ORDINATION is only the public solemn ratification of the call, and is not a divine ordinance; nor does it therefore form the real reason why the minister possesses the right to administer the sacraments.

After a long and bitter controversy, a COLLOQUIUM between the two parties took place in 1860. An agreement was reached, and eleven pastors of the Buffalo Synod went over to Missouri. (For further particulars concerning the Buffalo Synod and its present condition see § 30).

2. The CONTROVERSY OF MISSOURI WITH LOEHE AND THE IOWA SYNOD concerned a number of questions: the doctrine of the ministry, the position of the symbols, the "open questions," and the doctrine of the last things. In describing this controversy it will be necessary to enter partly also into the history of the IOWA SYNOD. The account given in the following paragraphs should therefore be compared with the history of that body given in § 29. Compare also the following literature: G. J. FRITSCHEL, "Geschichte der luth. Kirche in Amerika;" DEINDOERFER, "Geschichte der Iowa-Synode;" DR. S. FRITSCHEL, "Unterscheidungslehren der Synoden von Missouri und Iowa." For the history of Missouri, compare HOCHSTETTER, "Geschichte der Missouri-Synode;" GROSSE, "Unterscheidungslehren." We regret that the second volume of GRAEBNER,

"Geschichte der luth. Kirche in Amerika," has not yet been published.

a) THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY. Löhe, as we have seen, took a prominent part in the founding of the Missouri Synod. The men whom he had sent were more numerous than the "Saxons" (§ 22, 3-4). That the latter were nevertheless the stronger factor in moulding the new body is explained by the fact that Dr. Walther, with his thorough learning, his wide acquaintance with the works of Luther and the fathers, his fervent piety and firm convictions, wielded a decisive influence in all matters. When, during the confusion occasioned by Stephan's misconduct, Walther had, by thorough study and amid many inner conflicts, won his way to clear convictions concerning the doctrine of the Church, he had at the same time arrived at those convictions concerning the ministry which Missouri maintained (see above) against the Buffalo Synod.¹ Löhe was unable to agree with this DOCTRINE OF A TRANSFERENCE according to which the ministry was "only the exercise of the spiritual priesthood of all believers." He agreed with Missouri in maintaining against Grabau that the office of the ministry was only that of leading and feeding with the Word and Sacraments, and that the ministry had no right to set up as ordinances things which are not expressly commanded in God's Word. But he differed with them in reference to the spiritual priesthood and its transference. While he declared himself satisfied with all the assertions of Missouri so far as they agreed with the statements of the Confessions, that the office has not been committed to individuals, nor to an order, but to the whole Church, he could not agree with the definition of the ministry as given in Thesis VII. This thesis reads: "The holy office of the priesthood is the power, transmitted by God through the congregation as the bearer of the spiritual priesthood and of all ecclesiastical power, to exercise THE

1) Walther published the results of his studies in "Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt," a book which the Missouri Synod approved.

RIGHTS OF THE SPIRITUAL PRIESTHOOD by a public office in behalf of the congregation." — Löhe could not agree with Walther when the latter in this thesis, and elsewhere even more plainly still, identified the spiritual priesthood with the ministry. He regarded the view, that every individual member transferred his personal share in the office of the ministry to one person, as one which was not a correct conclusion from the premises which they held in common. On the contrary he held that the correct conclusion to be drawn from the doctrine contained in the symbols and accepted both by him and Missouri was, 1) that the ministry is indeed an office closely related to the spiritual priesthood, but is nevertheless distinct from the spiritual priesthood of the individual Christians; and 2) that the office is transferred by the congregation as a PART OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, and as an instrument through which Christ mediately transmits the office.

The difference did not refer therefore to doctrines laid down in the Confessions, but to points which are not explained in the Scriptures or the Confessions. Since the difference was one which had to do with THEOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS or convictions, Löhe thought they might be able to exercise mutual toleration, and that the ecclesiastical fellowship between them need not be disturbed. This point, he thought, they might let remain an "open question," and strive for greater clearness and unity on the basis of Scripture and the Confessions. But according to Missouri's view, this doctrine of a transfer was the express teaching of the symbols, and agreement upon it was a necessary condition of Church-fellowship. By appointment of the synod Dr. Walther and the Rev. Mr. Wyneken went to Germany in 1851 in order, if possible, to prevent the threatened rupture. But their mission was fruitless; for while an agreement appeared to have been reached, it was only temporary; and in 1853 Löhe was called upon by Wyneken, who was president at that time, to cease his operations in Saginaw. Since a peaceful coöperation was now no longer possible, Löhe saw himself under the necessity of seeking a

new field of operations for himself and his men. Only two of his pupils, G. Grossmann and the Rev. John Deindörfer in Saginaw, Michigan, remained faithful to Löhe. These were soon on their way to Iowa, where they FOUNDED THE IOWA SYNOD (§ 29). The pathetic letter of Löhe, saying farewell to his colonies in Michigan, is found in Fritschel II, p. 221, and Deindörfer, p. 22. The Iowa Synod does not, as a synod, represent the views of Löhe, but rather his conviction, that, since there was agreement in the confessional doctrine, the points in dispute were not of sufficient magnitude to justify a rupture in the Church. (Comp. the Davenport Theses in the Appendix).

b) THE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CONFESSIONS became the subject of a further controversy between Missouri and Iowa. Missouri asserted that her teaching concerning the office of the ministry was the Lutheran doctrine, because it was indicated in the symbols, or was a logical consequence of their statements. Iowa thereupon declared that not every word in the confessions of the Book of Concord, which it accepted as well as Missouri, was part of the confession of the Church, but that we must distinguish between the SUBJECTS TREATED EX PROFESSO, i. e., those which are "symbolical in purpose," and those unessential doctrines which occur as casual statements.¹ The former constitute the substance of the confessions and are binding upon all Lutherans, the latter are not. In opposition to this standpoint Missouri maintained that "all the elaborations of doctrines con-

1) As examples of such doctrines in the Formula of Concord as cannot claim to be part of the real substance of the confessions, Dr. S. Fritschel in his work "Die Unterscheidungslehren der Synoden von Iowa und Missouri" cites the following: "The proof of the agreement of Paul and James (Book of Concord: Müller, p. 120-131; Jacobs, 127-128); the doctrine of the permanent virginity of Mary (Müller 299, Jacobs 311); the doctrine of the operation of faith in infant baptism through the preceding outward Word (Müller 322, Jacobs 332); the statements of Melanchthon concerning the pope (Müller 326, Jacobs 336); the obligation of earthly governments, as the most prominent members of the Church, to help to remove all errors and to see to it that consciences are properly informed (Müller 339, Jacobs 347); and their right to banish those who will not learn the catechism (Müller 350, Jacobs 360); traducianism (Müller 579, Jacobs 544), the view that the Lord's Supper of the Reformed is without a heavenly content (Müller 653, Jacobs 606); the view that Mary gave birth "utero clauso" (Müller 668, Jacobs 619); etc.

tained in the symbols have by virtue of the reception of those symbols by the Church been received as parts of her confessions, and that the confessional subscription demanded includes without distinction or exception all the doctrines which are contained in the symbols in any manner whatsoever, whether as "a subject treated EX PROFESSO or as a casual statement." At the COLLOQUIM held in MILWAUKEE, Wis., in 1867, between representatives of the two synods for the purpose of reaching an agreement on the doctrines in dispute, it was agreed that the ARTICLES OF FAITH and not the "Theologoumena" constitute the obligatory element in the confessions. But that the two sides had a different view of what belonged to the "Theologoumena" became apparent at once in the consideration of the other points that had been involved in the controversy. One of these points was

c) THE ANTICHRIST. On the basis of Article 4 of the second part of the Schmalkald Articles, the Missouri Synod declared that the Roman PAPACY was alone and exclusively to be regarded as the Antichrist predicted in 2 Thess. 2; that all the Biblical prophecies concerning Antichrist are completely fulfilled in the papacy; and that whoever denies this, has fallen away from our Lutheran confessions. The Iowa Synod denies that the confession intends at that place to give symbolical fixedness to its interpretation of the words of Scripture concerning the Antichrist, and claims that to interpret the prophecies in such a manner as to expect the appearance of a PARTICULAR PERSON as the Antichrist does not conflict with the confessions, provided that what the confessions say about the Anti-Christian nature of the papacy is held fast. The article does not treat of the question, WHO or WHAT is the Antichrist? but of the question, What is the papacy? And these are two widely different things.¹ The Iowa Synod ac-

1) Dr. Sigm. Fritschel says that the Schmalkald Articles do not state: "The Antichrist is the Pope," but "The Pope is the Antichrist." The Iowa men laid special emphasis upon the fact that in 1 John 2:22 and 2 John 7 a person who teaches gnostic error is expressly called Antichrist, and that thus gnosticism is described as possessing the characteristics of Antichrist. Comp. "Unterscheidungslehren" pp. 25-29.

cepts all the statements of the Symbolical books concerning the anti-Christian character of the papacy; but it regards the difference of opinion, as to whether in the last days an intensification of the anti-Christian elements shall take place in the person of an individual or not, as by no means a difference which should cause a cessation of ecclesiastical fellowship. Both synods agree in viewing the papacy as anti-Christian; but they differ as to whether a future person shall appear as the personification of the anti-Christian spirit or not. (Compare Davenport Theses 8-10 in the Appendix).

Another point on which no agreement could be reached at the colloquium at Milwaukee, and which likewise belongs to the sphere of eschatology, was

d) CHILIASM. During the discussion of the question in Germany, about the year 1850 and later, Loehe had expressed himself as holding views in agreement with those of the "Biblical Chiliasts" (v. Hofmann and others). In consequence of this fact, the Iowa Synod, which was aided by him, became suspected of chiliastic views. The Missouri Synod had excluded one of its district officers (Pastor Schieferdecker) because of his views on this point. It even declared that to regard Rev. 20 as still awaiting fulfillment in the future was an objectionable chiliiasm. It maintained that article 17 of the Augsburg Confession rejected all manner of chiliiasm, not only gross, but subtle and even the subtlest. In order to reply to these attacks and at the same time to gain a clear idea for itself "as to the kind of chiliiasm represented by us," the Iowa Synod in 1858 occupied itself with the discussion of this doctrine, and published in its minutes the report which formed the basis of the discussion and which exhibited and defended the views which Iowa really held. But now Iowa was more than ever suspected of being a chiliastic synod. And since the accusation of teaching a gross chiliiasm in conflict with the confessions was still made against it, the synod in 1864 adopted a series of resolutions in which its position on this question is

given in detail. (See Fritschel II, pp. 288-290). Whoever reads these resolutions must confess that they give utterance to a more decided, vital and thorough antithesis to all chiliastic fanaticism than can be found in any other resolutions concerning this subject. They treat the subject fundamentally.

At the Milwaukee colloquium Iowa modified some of the expressions contained in its report of 1858, and Missouri dropped the assertion that every form of chiliasm, even such a subtle one, is contrary to the Scriptures and the Confessions.

The question, whether the words in Rev. 20: 4, 5.—“They lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection”—refer to a bodily resurrection (in which the martyrs only shall have part) or to a spiritual resurrection (i. e. conversion), was one upon which the hopes of agreement on this doctrine were shattered. The representatives of Iowa could not agree with the assertions of the representatives of Missouri, that whoever interpreted these words as referring to a bodily resurrection thereby rejected the doctrine of the general resurrection, and that consequently a difference on this point involved a separation of those who held divergent views. Iowa, on the other hand, did not officially declare that it interpreted the passage as referring to a bodily resurrection of the martyrs; but it expressed the conviction that such an interpretation did not endanger the doctrine of a general resurrection of the dead on the last day; and that consequently the acceptance or rejection of this exegetical interpretation was not of sufficient importance to justify a division in the Church. In other words, Iowa maintained that the matter was an “open question” so long as both parties kept within the bounds of the doctrines taught by the confessions. (Comp. Davenport Theses in the Appendix).

NOTE.—Missouri based its claims chiefly upon Hebr. 9:28: “So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto

them that look for Him shall He appear the second time without sin unto salvation." S. Fritschel, in order to prove that the acceptance of a previous bodily resurrection of the martyrs does not threaten the article of faith concerning the general resurrection on the last day, adduces the fact that the Scriptures speak of the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah and the bodies of many saints which slept (Matt. 27:52, 53). The universality and the simultaneousness of the resurrection are, he claims, two different things. For details of this question from the standpoint of Missouri compare Joh. Grosse, "Unterscheidungslehren," p. 17; Hochstetter, pp 295-298; from the standpoint of Iowa, compare Fritschel, "Unterscheidungslehren," p. 29-38; especially also the Davenport Theses in the Appendix, G. J. Fritschel, Vol. II, p. 290, and Deindoerfer, "Geschichte der Iowa Synode," p. 133.

The doctrines described under the heads a), c) and d), and under the f) following, were defined by the representatives of the Iowa Synod at the Colloquium in Milwaukee as

c) "OPEN QUESTIONS;" and the respective denial (Missouri) and assertion (Iowa) of this distinction constitutes the most characteristic difference between the two bodies. Missouri emphatically maintained that on each and every doctrine based on Scripture perfect agreement must be attained in the Church. Only those questions concerning which nothing special is revealed dare be regarded as "open questions." Iowa, on the other hand, claimed that in the Augsburg Confession, Art. VII., the Lutheran Church has LAID DOWN THE RULE, "TO THE TRUE UNITY OF THE CHURCH IT IS SUFFICIENT TO AGREE CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE GOSPEL AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS"; and that this confessional declaration sets forth the principle according to which the decision concerning what is NECESSARY and what is SUFFICIENT is to be made. According to the Lutheran Confessions "the pure doctrine of the Gospel" is no less and no more than the articles of faith as confessed by the Lutheran Church, fundamentally in the Augustana, and in popular form in the Catechisms. According to Iowa, full agreement in that which the Lutheran Church confesses is sufficient for Church unity. For instance: Whoever accepts the confessional Lutheran doc-

trine concerning the Office of the Ministry as the pure doctrine of the divine Word CAN BE and MUST BE recognized as a Lutheran. The difference of view as to whether the holy office is transferred by a CHURCH AS A UNITY or by its MEMBERS AS INDIVIDUALS does not necessitate the dissolution of church-fellowship; that is, it must be regarded as an "open question". The definition of an open question proposed by Iowa is not, that it is one concerning which it is unessential what view is held, but that it is a doctrinal question concerning which, unlike other doctrines (e. g. the doctrine of God, Christ, Salvation, the Sacraments, etc.) absolute agreement is not the unconditional pre-requisite of church-fellowship. According to Iowa, the difference in most of the distinctive doctrines is not a difference with respect to the whole doctrine, but with respect to SUBORDINATE POINTS ON WHICH THERE IS NO SCRIPTURAL REVELATION WHATEVER. Neither side can clinch its arguments by absolute Scripture authority. In most cases it is a question of correct or incorrect human conclusions. Consequently, a Church or synod should not make the acceptance of one or the other of these interpretations or conclusions the unconditional requisite of membership, so long as the view held does not conflict with the analogy of faith.— This position of Iowa was energetically denounced by Missouri. It declared: There must be absolute unanimity in the Church with respect to each and every doctrine based upon Scripture. The Church can permit one and only one interpretation. To permit two different views would be to surrender Scriptural authority to human opinion. Either an interpretation is RIGHT or it is WRONG. A Church or synod must say which is correct. Hence the theory of "open questions" is denounced as "the most dangerous, because the most subtle and hidden unionistic poison, by which the congregations would be driven into doubt and naked infidelity".— To an impartial observer it seems as though Missouri views the question from a more theoretical standpoint, while Iowa regards it from the practical standpoint of its relation to Church membership. The

leaders of Iowa declared at Milwaukee, that "no articles of faith and no doctrines established by plain and unmistakable Scripture passages can be classed as "open questions", but only those points concerning which we have no explicit revelation, and concerning which for this very reason no unity of conviction has been attained in the Church." As long as the views do not conflict with the analogy of faith, differences of opinion on such questions will not destroy the fellowship of faith. Iowa adopted the declaration by which Dr. Walther settled the question concerning "Interest and Usury" (See Davenport Thesis 21) as an accurate definition of what it meant by "Open Questions": for that declaration distinguishes between "articles of faith" and "Scripture doctrines which are not articles of faith."

This difference of view with respect to the importance of deduced doctrines is especially apparent in the question of the proper

f) CONCEPTION OF SUNDAY. Missouri, pointing to article 28 of the Augustana, maintained that the New Testament Sunday is not a divine institution, but an ordinance of the Church, in order to obtain a day for common worship and to supply that need of a day of rest which is rooted in God's order of creation. Iowa declared that it accepted this view, but that, at the same time, it held to the principle, that if any one was of the opinion, as Gerhard and many other ancient teachers of the Lutheran Church were, that a PARTICULAR DAY out of the seven days of the week must be observed, this opinion would not be an error that would necessitate a separation from Church fellowship; in other words, the doctrine of Sunday in the Augsburg Confession is not AN ARTICLE OF FAITH. According to the judgment of Iowa the question here, as in the preceding points of controversy, was one concerning doctrines and conclusions which were connected with the theological elaboration of the system of dogmas, but which did not affect the foundation of faith, and which dared not therefore be regarded as of sufficient importance to necessitate a division. Missouri, however, refused to have any

doctrine concerning which Scripture gives any utterance treated thus, no matter how subordinate it might be, nor how completely it might appear to lie or really lie in the periphery, far removed from the center of the doctrine of salvation.

NOTE.—That there may be doctrines, however, which under certain circumstances must be treated practically as "open questions," i. e., as not necessitating a separation from Church-fellowship, Missouri itself conceded by the manner in which it disposed of the subject of usury. Dr. Walther had come to the conviction, on the basis of his study of Luther's writings, that the acceptance of any kind of interest on money loaned constituted a usury which is forbidden in Scripture. As usual, a large number of the pastors sided with him, and the synod was on the point of promulgating this as its doctrine. But the opposition of no small portion of the pastors and congregations showed that such a step would produce a tremendous rupture in the synod. And in the end, Dr. Walther prevented the rupture by declaring that the view of those who differed from him in his doctrine of usury was indeed to be rejected as an error, but that the erring ones should not on that account be condemned nor denied the fellowship of faith. (The exact phraseology of this declaration is contained in number 21 of the Davenport Theses. See Appendix.)

3. THE CONTROVERSY ON PREDESTINATION. In his endeavor to free the Christian doctrine of salvation from every semblance of synergism and to emphasize the grace of God as the sole cause of salvation, Dr. Walther had come to the conviction that the development of the doctrine of predestination by the later dogmaticians¹ represented a lapse from the 11th article of the Formula of Concord, and that the expression that God has elected men IN VIEW OF FAITH (*intuitu fidei*) leads into paths of synergistic error. In a paper of the year 1877² he says therefore: "God has from eternity already elected a number of men to salvation; He has determined that THESE SHALL AND MUST BE SAVED; and as certainly as God is God, they will be saved, and BESIDES THEM NONE OTHER." In the same

1) Compare Schmid's Doctrinal Theology. Transl. by Hay and Jacobs, p. 291.

2) Minutes of the Western District, 1877, p. 24.

paper he explained the Scripture passage 2 Thess. 2:13 ("because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation THROUGH sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth") in such a manner as to make the apostle say: "We are chosen UNTO the sanctification of the Spirit and UNTO the belief of the truth." From the midst of Missouri itself PROF. F. A. SCHMIDT rose in opposition to this doctrine in a periodical founded for this special purpose. DR. G. FRITSCHEL of the Iowa Synod had previously already written a number of articles against the doctrine held by Walther. But the chief standard-bearer in the conflict against this doctrine of predestination was the OHIO SYNOD, which in 1871 had united with Missouri and other synods in the formation of the Synodical Conference (comp. § 21). At a PASTORAL CONFERENCE of the Missouri Synod in CHICAGO in September, 1880, which was attended by 500 pastors, the subject was discussed at length and with vigor by both sides in a colloquium. DR. WALTHER, who carried the majority with him, maintained that the special election of particular persons to salvation is an election in a mysterious manner TO FAITH; the opposing party, chiefly under the leadership of DR. STELLHORN, was willing to let the election to faith stand if by election there was meant predestination in the WIDER SENSE, that is, according to the Formula of Concord and our dogmaticians, the eternal carrying out of the universal way of salvation, from which the election of persons follows; but it was willing to accept the election of PARTICULAR PERSONS only "in view of faith" (*intuitu fidei*); that is, God, in the election of these individuals, took into consideration their faith, which He fore-saw. Missouri rejected this latter view as synergistic, maintaining that in this way faith acquired a meritorious significance; while Ohio distinguished between the ACQUIRING AND EFFICIENT cause of the salvation of these individuals (which is found in God and Christ alone) on the one hand, and the EXPLANATORY CAUSE (faith) on the other hand. — In connection with this subject, that of CONVERSION was also drawn into the controversy. Solicitous for the moner-

gism of the divine grace and the absolute lack of merit on man's part, Dr. Walther asserted that God not only removes the NATURAL but also the MOST WILFUL AND MALICIOUS resistance: while his opponents declared that we must distinguish between the natural and wilful resistance; and that the resistance of the natural man is capable of being augmented to such a degree of obstinacy and malice as makes even the strongest operations of grace vain and fruitless. (Here especially the Iowa Synod also took a stand against Missouri. § 29). — — For the purpose of giving public utterance to its position on the doctrine of predestination, the Missouri Synod at its convention in Fort Wayne, Ind., in May 1881 adopted the well-known THIRTEEN PROPOSITIONS (prepared by Dr. Walther). See Appendix. Compare also the "Theses concerning Predestination" by Dr. Gottfried Fritschel, p. 177.

The opponents of the Missouri Synod declared, that these thirteen propositions were, indeed, formulated in such a manner as made it possible for them also to subscribe to them; but that their true meaning became apparent only when they were read in connection with the many predestinarian utterances found in the minutes of the Missouri Synod and in the monthly periodical "Lehre und Wehre" edited by the faculty of the seminary at St. Louis. We reproduce a few of these utterances:—

At the conference at Chicago, Dr. Walther thus described the difference between the general benevolent will of God (comp. propositions 1-4 in the Appendix) and the special decree electing a certain number of men to salvation (propositions 5-13): "God demands much of man, and man nevertheless does not do it; but when God determines to do anything, He does it, and not all the devils in hell can prevent it." (Minutes, p. 57.) And again at the same place: "That, according to our confession, the precious saving election of grace helps to keep us in the faith to the end, THIS constitutes the chief comfort" (of predestination). "It consists not in this, that we are saved through faith; for then it would be the same comfort which we find in

God's Word, in the Gospel, in Christ's merit, in short, in all the means of salvation and grace. We are inquiring here concerning the SPECIAL comfort which is to be found in THIS doctrine" (p. 56). In a sermon on the Gospel concerning the laborers in the vineyard (Postille, p. 94) Walther says: "God has chosen the elect, not because He knew that they would continue in faith; but because they are chosen, this is the reason why they continue steadfast in the faith. God did not choose them because He knew that they would be saved; but because they are chosen, they will be saved." In the report of the Western District, 1877, p. 24: "Yes, God has from eternity already elected a number of persons to salvation; He has determined that these shall and must be saved; and as certainly as God is God, so certainly they will be saved, and besides them none other." In the same report (p. 43): "Thou art an elect person; if thou shouldest lose faith, thou shalt not lose it 't o the end, but shalt and must obtain it again." In "Lehre und Wehre" (June 1871), where Luther's book "De servo arbitrio" is recommended to all Lutheran Christians, the following expressions are found: "There God distributes grace and goodness among children; here He employs sternness, anger, wrath and severity against those who have not deserved it." And again (p. 174): "How this can be right, that He condemns those who have not deserved it, is, indeed, incomprehensible now; but we believe it."¹⁾ "Experience proves that from millions of men God does not remove their resistance to His Word, a resistance which He could as easily remove for them as for the elect, since all by nature lie in equally deep perdition, and the latter are by nature no better than the former. That which must ever remain for us on earth an unfathomable mystery, is the answer to the question, why God did not elect all men to be His children, since He certainly had the power to remove

1) Utterances like these, that some who have not deserved it will be condemned, were later retracted. Here the Missourians distinctly differ from the Calvinists. But all the utterances referring to those who are saved are strenuously maintained.

even the most wilful resistance of all sinners, just as He actually does in the case of the elect."

The difference between Missouri and Ohio may be summarized in the following FOUR POINTS:—

1. Ohio teaches that God's decree of election is none other than the universal counsel of grace revealed in the Gospel: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Missouri on the contrary asserts that there are two entirely distinct decrees, between which an analogy is not even to be looked for.

2. Ohio teaches that the conversion of men and their preservation in the faith are the result of the general benevolent will, and not of the decree of election, if the latter word is taken in its narrowest sense; that election, in the foreknowledge of God, presupposes faith; and that God elected intuitu fidei. Missouri on the contrary maintains that from the general benevolent will there could at best result only a temporary faith; that a steadfast and really saving faith can flow only from election; and that God elects TO faith.

3. Missouri further maintains that the reason why God has not elected all men, or why He has elected some and not others, is an unfathomable mystery; and that therefore it is impossible to harmonize the doctrine of predestination with the universal promises of the Gospel. Ohio, on the other hand, maintains that we have here not a theological, but an anthropological or psychological mystery; that the reason why God has chosen only a few is revealed, and that it is found in the fact that the majority of men wilfully and persistently resist His Holy Spirit; and that, of the human beings who are all alike totally corrupt, some thus resist and others do not,—this is something which we cannot explain.

4. Missouri charges Ohio with holding a synergistic view of conversion, because the latter denies that God has decided by an absolute decree who and how many "shall and must believe," and thus leaves the decision, whether he will believe or not, to man. Ohio strenuously repels the

charge on the ground, that it teaches that conversion from beginning to end is the work of the Holy Spirit, and that man can do nothing to promote it, though he can hinder it. It claims that the contrary doctrine implies an irresistible grace in conversion.

NOTE.—Quite recently the subject of predestination was again discussed by the two parties in three INTERSYNODICAL CONFERENCES, in Watertown, Wis., in the spring of 1903, in Milwaukee, Wis., in the fall of the same year, and in Detroit, Mich., in the spring of 1904. But no progress was made toward the removal of the differences of view which we have described, even though it seemed as if Missouri was not disposed to maintain without distinction all its predestinarian utterances. It became clear, especially at Milwaukee, that between the two parties there was a DIFFERENCE OF VIEW WITH REGARD TO THE ANALOGY OF FAITH. Ohio asserted that we dare teach nothing concerning the decree of election in the narrower sense which would conflict with the general benevolent will of God; that is, which would be contrary to the analogy of faith, and which would fail to harmonize with the other passages of Scripture which treat of our salvation. Missouri asserted that there need not be between the different doctrines of Scripture a harmony recognizable by the theologian, because the articles of faith are not something subjective, but something objective; and that, if the passages treating of the special decree of election state something which we can not harmonize with those passages which treat of the general benevolent will, we must take our reason captive, accept the doctrine nevertheless, and say, "Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth." The criterion for the correct interpretation of a Scripture passage treating of the special election is not the harmony of Scripture as a whole, but only the passages which are the "sedes doctrinae" for the election of particular persons. The third conference in April, 1904, at Detroit, Mich., also resulted in a failure to reach any agreement. Dr. Stellhorn, in the name of the Ohio Synod and of the Iowa Synod declared: "The Christian doctrines form for the Christian, especially for the theologian, a recognizable harmonious whole or system, which is composed of doctrines drawn from perfectly clear passages of Holy Scripture. This organic whole is the highest norm of Scriptural interpretation, and stands above even the parallelism or comparison of the passages which treat of the same doctrine." On the other hand, Dr. F. Pieper, as the representative of Missouri, declared: "Every doctrine which is not drawn solely from the Scripture passages which expressly treat of that doctrine is not a Scrip-

tural doctrine, but a human opinion." He asserted that it is modern theology to attempt to bring together into a system doctrines (in this case those of the general and special benevolent will of God) whose connection is not shown by the Word of God itself. Toward the removal of this difference, which lies at the root of the others, no progress was made.

In September 1881, the OHIO SYNOD SEVERED its connection with the Synodical Conference (§28, 2c). The NORWEGIANS also, whose pastors and congregations were divided in their opinions concerning the doctrine of predestination, left the Synodical Conference, with the hope that they would be better able thus to control the movement. (A division of the Norwegians took place nevertheless.) The opponents of the Missourian doctrine of predestination founded a seminary at Northfield, Minn., with Prof. F. A. Schmidt at its head (§ 33). But, in spite of these defections, the synods of the Synodical Conference, and especially the Missouri Synod, GREW enormously. The latter almost doubled its membership in the decade 1878-88. According to the statistical year-book of 1903 the Missouri Synod numbers 1832 pastors and professors, 863 school-teachers, 2,267 congregations,¹ 810 preaching-points, and 440,403 communicants, all of which are divided into 14 districts. The educational institutions of the synod contain 1,262 students and 51 professors and instructors.

§ 24. *Its Work.*

I. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

a) COLLEGES. I. Concordia College at FORT WAYNE, IND., was begun by Loehe (§ 22, 3). In 1861 the classical department, which had been founded at Altenburg, Perry Co., Mo., in 1839, and transferred along with the theological seminary to St. Louis in 1850, was again trans-

¹ Of these 1,080 congregations are not formally connected with the synod, but are simply served by pastors belonging to it.

ferred to Fort Wayne; and the theological seminary which had existed at Fort Wayne in connection with the classical course, was united with the seminary at St. Louis. Number of professors, 7; of students, 155. 2. Concordia College, at MILWAUKEE, Wis. While this institution is located on the territory of the Wisconsin Synod, which is a member of the Synodical Conference, it is yet an institution of the Missouri Synod. Professors, 7; students, 232. 3. Concordia College at ST. PAUL, MINN.: Professors, 3; students, 112. Two pro-gymnasia: one at CONCORDIA, Mo., and the other at NEPERAN, N. Y.

b) TEACHERS' SEMINARIES. 1. The largest at ADDISON, Ill., with 8 professors and 206 students; and 2. a small institution at SEWARD, Neb., with 3 professors and 66 students.

c) THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES. 1. The THEORETICAL Concordia Seminary in ST. LOUIS, Mo. It was founded in 1839 in Perry Co., Mo., and removed in 1850 to St. Louis, where the theological department of the institution at Fort Wayne, Ind., (see above) was united with it. At this seminary Dr. WALTHER labored as professor of systematic theology. With him there labored at different times, Dr. E. Preuss, Prof. Baumstark (later apostates to Rome), Prof. F. A. SCHMIDT (see Predestinarian Controversy), Prof. G. Schaller, Prof. M. GUENTHER (author of the well-known "Symbolik"). After the death of Dr. Walther, Prof. Dr. F. PIEPER became his successor. Among the five professors who are his co-laborers, Prof. A. L. GRAEBNER is especially known through his history of the Lutheran Church in America. In the three classes of the institution there are 188 students. The text-book of dogmatics is Baier's Compendium, which Dr. Walther used as the basis of his LATIN LECTURES. 2. The PRACTICAL Concordia Seminary at SPRINGFIELD, Ill., originated from the practical department of the seminary at St. Louis, which, under the direction of Prof. Craemer, was located at Springfield, in 1875, in the seminary building which was purchased from the Northern Illinois Synod. After the death of Prof. Craemer, Prof.

R. Pieper became president of the institution. As the seminary has a two years' preliminary course, the entire course of study occupies five years. The study of the Latin language is required, that of the Greek is elective. Number of professors, 5; of students, 171.

2. MISSIONARY OPERATIONS. *a)* The FOREIGN MISSIONARY WORK of the Missouri Synod is still in its beginnings. It has four stations in East India (among the Tamils), for the support of which it expended 6818 dollars in 1903. Since 1898 it also maintains a mission among the Stockbridge Indians.—*b)* It supports a JEWISH MISSION in New York.—*c)* The mission among the NEGROES of Louisiana, Illinois, Virginia and North Carolina, and the IMMIGRANT MISSION are the only ones which it carries on in common with the other synods of the Synodical Conference.—*d)* Pastor A. Reinke established in Chicago a MISSION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB, which already comprises 10 preaching-points.—*e)* An IMMIGRANT MISSION work is done by the Missouri Synod through the Lutheran Pilgerhaus (Pastor S. Keyl) in New York, and through a similar agency in Baltimore.—*f)* It also conducts a mission among the LETTS AND ESTHONIANS.—*g)* The HOME MISSION WORK proper, i. e., the establishment and support of new organizations, lies in the hands of the individual district synods. Such funds as are needed for their work are placed in the general mission treasury of the Synod. From this fund those districts which have more missions to sustain than the money which they collect from their own midst will enable them to support receive assistance. Recently the Missouri Synod has begun to open mission stations in Germany, Scandinavia, England and Brazil.—For all missionary purposes combined the Missouri Synod contributed during the biennium 1900-01 the sum of 526,385 dollars.

3. INSTITUTIONS OF MERCY under the direction of the Missouri Synod:—*a)* ORPHANAGES, or societies caring for orphans. Of these are thirteen, at the following places: San Francisco, Cal.; Addison, Ill.; Bay City, Mich.;

Indianapolis, Ind.; Fremont, Neb.; Boston, (West Roxbury), Mass.; Delano, Pa.; College Point, L. I.; Baltimore, Md.; St. Louis, Mo.; Des Peres, Mo.; Milwaukee, Wis.—
b) HOMES FOR THE AGED: Arlington Heights, Ill.; Monroe, Mich.; Brooklyn, N. Y.—*c) HOSPITALS:* one each in Sioux City, Dak.; Cleveland, Ohio; Brooklyn, N. Y., and St. Louis, Mo.

4. PUBLISHING INTERESTS. The Concordia Publishing House at St. Louis, Mo., whose business it is to publish works and pamphlets of a strictly Lutheran character, turns its large profits over to the mission treasury. During the three years, 1900-1902, these profits amounted to 207,701 dollars. The best known of the Missouri periodicals are "Der Lutheraner" (a paper for the congregations, with a circulation of 31,000) and the theological monthly magazine "Lehre und Wehre," both of which are edited by the theological faculty of the Concordia Seminary.

B.

THE OTHER PARTS OF THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE.

§ 25. The United Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and Other States.

This body was formed by the union of three districts which had, as independent synods, previously been members of the Synodical Conference. They united in the year 1892, in order that they might not be obliged to support more than one college (Watertown, Wis.), one teachers' seminary (New Ulm, Minn.), and one theological seminary (Milwaukee, resp. Wauwatosa, Wis.). This step did not, however, satisfy the majority of the members of the Michigan Synod, and resulted in the withdrawal of all but 24 of its pastors and their congregations. (Comp. § 31.)

1. The WISCONSIN SYNOD originated under the leadership of PASTOR MUEHLHAEUSER on December 8, 1849, at Milwaukee, Wis., and had a large field of labor among

the North German immigrants of Wisconsin. The youthful synod obtained its pastors from Barmen (Langenberger Verein); and when the supply from this source could not meet its wants, it entered into negotiations with the Verein in Berlin also. The guiding spirit of the synod was president BADING, who had always been an advocate of positive Lutheranism. The Wisconsin Synod became more and more akin to Missouri in its attitude toward the confessions. In 1863 a SEMINARY was opened at Watertown, Wis., and in the following year a COLLEGE was added. The first professor was DR. E. F. MOLDEHNKE. When he resigned, he was succeeded by DR. A. HOENECKE. The theories of the IOWA SYNOD (§ 23, 2), in spite of the friendly relations which for a time existed between that body and the Wisconsin Synod, were ultimately rejected by the latter. Positive DECLARATIONS AGAINST THE UNION were made, and thereupon the societies in Berlin and Barmen severed their relations with the synod, and the high consistory of the Prussian national Church demanded that its candidates should leave the Wisconsin Synod. When the GENERAL COUNCIL was organized, the Wisconsin Synod united with it, but withdrew from it again in 1868 because the General Council would not adopt the position of the Wisconsin Synod on the "four points" (§ 17, 3). On the other hand, at a colloquium with Missouri held in October of the same year in Milwaukee, Wis., it became manifest that there existed between these two bodies unity of faith. In 1872 therefore the Wisconsin Synod took part in the organization of the SYNODICAL CONFERENCE. But the Wisconsin Synod would not agree to the plan which Dr. Walther so fondly cherished, that all the synods of the Synodical Conference should have one common seminary, and that the entire Synodical Conference should in reality become one completely amalgamated synod, divided into districts according to the States.¹ It was under the necessity

1) In fact the Synodical Conference is not, like the General Synod (§ 11, 3) and the General Council (§ 20, 2, b), a body whose component parts carry on their work in common, and who are required to respect one

therefore, of establishing its own theological seminary; for the theological department at Watertown had been discontinued in order to convert that institution into a college only. In 1878 the SEMINARY AT MILWAUKEE (Wauwatosa) was opened. It has three professors, with Prof. Dr. A. Hönecke at its head. Its students number 38.—In the controversy on predestination the Wisconsin Synod sided with Dr. Walther, though it modified some of his more extravagant assertions.—It carries on an Indian mission among the Apaches in Arizona.—It numbers 223 pastors, 350 congregations, and 60,000 communicants.

2. The MINNESOTA SYNOD is a fruit of the energetic missionary activity of MISSIONARY HEYER (§§ 12, 2; 20, 2). It was organized early in the sixties, and united with the GENERAL SYNOD. In 1867 it dissolved this relationship, and took part in the organization of the GENERAL COUNCIL. But because of dissatisfaction on the subject of the "four points" this bond soon became loose. One of the most influential members of this body, the REV. J. H. SIEKER (now of New York), fostered a spirit of enthusiasm for Missouri. Although many pastors had come from St. Chrishona, friendly relations were entered into with the Wisconsin and the MISSOURI synods. And in 1872 the Minnesota Synod took part with these other synods in the organization of the Synodical Conference. But in spite of this union, the synod was not willing to be merged into Missouri, nor to educate its pastors in the seminary at St. Louis. A school with a classical and a theological department was established at NEW ULM, MINN. When, in 1892, the synods of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan united in one body, the theological department of this school was removed and combined with the seminary at Milwaukee, while the classical school in New Ulm was converted into a TEACHERS'

another's territory. Thus, for example, the Missouri Synod is represented in Wisconsin, and even has a college in Milwaukee; and Wisconsin pastors may be found in regions which the Missouri Synod claims as its territory. Only the mission among the negroes of America is carried on by the synods of the Synodical Conference in common. The Synodical Conference is therefore in reality only a bond which implies mutual recognition.

SEMINARY for the three synods. The latter institution contains 53 students, and five professors, with Prof. Schaller at its head.—The Minnesota Synod is composed of 82 pastors, 117 congregations, and 20,000 communicants.

3. The MICHIGAN SYNOD was founded in 1860. When it united with Wisconsin and Minnesota to form a general synod of the Northwest, a division took place in its ranks (§ 21 and 31). Thirty-three pastors, 57 congregations and 4,325 communicants withdrew, because they were unwilling to have their theological seminary merged in that at Milwaukee. The rest, numbering 12 pastors, 17 congregations and 3,000 communicants, were recognized by the officers of the general body as the Michigan Synod.

§ 26. **The English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States.**

This body was established by members of the Tennessee, the Holston, the Missouri and the Norwegian synods, who had organized themselves into the English Conference of Missouri as early as 1872. It was organized as a synod, under the name given above, in October, 1888, in St. Louis, Mo., and already numbers 56 pastors, 46 congregations, and 5,000 communicants. It has two colleges: Concordia College at CONOVER, N. C., with 88 students and 4 professors, and St. John's College, WINFIELD, KAN., with 8 professors and 85 students. Its paper for the congregations, "The Lutheran Witness," bears the motto: "The Language of our Children, the Faith of our Fathers."

§ 27. **The Practice of the Synodical Conference.**

1. In the matter of CHURCH GOVERNMENT the Synodical Conference lays all emphasis upon the local congregation. The synod, which exists only as a matter of expedi-

ency, by human right and not by divine institution, is only a voluntary assembly of the congregations through their representatives. The voting members of a synod are only those pastors and laymen who represent a congregation. Pastors emeriti, professors and synodical officials who do not serve a congregation have a seat and voice but no vote. Even the synod itself, though composed only of representatives of the congregations, is only an advisory body.¹⁾ "No synodical resolution has binding power. . . . The resolution of synod becomes obligatory only when the individual congregation by a formal congregational resolution has voluntarily adopted and ratified it. If a congregation finds that a resolution is not in accordance with God's Word, or is not adapted to its circumstances, it has the right to disregard the resolution or to reject it" (Grosse, "Unterscheidungslehren," p. 131). Further: "The synod has no power to call or to depose ministers. This power belongs to the congregations alone. The individual congregation may, indeed, in the matter of calling a pastor transfer its right to some one, for example to the president of synod or to a theological faculty. So also a congregation may, in a matter of discipline against a pastor, give the investigation into the hands of the president of synod or a committee of synod; but the decision as to whether a pastor shall be deposed or not must be made by the local congregation alone." (Grosse, p. 132.) But at the same time, in accordance with the principle that it is a mark of an orthodox synod "to exercise strict discipline according to God's Word against those who in doctrine or life depart from it" (from the true confession; Grosse, p. 126), the synod would exclude a congregation which should claim the right in CONFESSIONAL QUESTIONS to disregard a resolution of synod. The freedom and independence of the local congregation with respect to the synod has reference, therefore,

1) The General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South have made similar declarations; but these declarations have reference only to the rights of the general bodies, and not to those of the individual district synods. According to the declaration of the Synodical Conference even the district synods have only advisory power.

only to ADIAPHORA, to those matters concerning which God's Word does not say anything (ceremonies, congregational rules, collections, management of church property, etc.). A similar course would be pursued in the case of disciplinary action against a pastor: if a congregation refused to depose him, it would be excluded together with the pastor.

2. The greatest DOCTRINAL STRICTNESS is maintained by the Synodical Conference. Any one who differs on a point on which the synod has stated its confessional position, and will not be persuaded of his error, is excluded, no matter whether the doctrine concerned lies in the center or the periphery.

3. With the same consistency all UNIONISM is rejected. The condition of organic union between various ecclesiastical bodies is unity of faith in all points on which God's Word speaks. "Open questions" (§ 23, 2, e.) are not recognized, unless they be such questions as this: Whether the world was created on a Sunday or a Monday. — Not only organic union, but altar- and pulpit-fellowship between those who do not agree in all points is regarded as sinful unionism. Löhe differed with Missouri on the subject of the ministry, and was obliged on this account to sever his connection with it (§ 23, 2a). How consistently the Synodical Conference declines every union unless preceded by agreement in doctrine, is seen in the fact that the Missouri Synod, in its late conferences with the Ohio Synod for the discussion of doctrinal questions, believed, as on many previous occasions, that it could not consent to the opening of the conference with a common prayer, because it differed from Ohio in the doctrines of conversion and predestination. This, in its view, would have been unionism and sin. Both sides therefore prayed silently.

4. SECRET SOCIETIES. The Missouri Synod, together with the other parts of the Synodical Conference, has waged a strenuous warfare against secret societies, particularly against such as have a religious coloring. Among the reasons which it cites against the toleration of lodges, we quote the following from Grosse, p. 55:—

In the lodge one must call Jews, heathen, unbelievers, and mockers of religion brothers.

One obligates himself to bury all deceased lodge brothers as persons who have died saved.

We cannot and dare not as Christians repeat the prayers of the lodges in their meetings or at the grave, or at corner-stone layings, etc., because those prayers are not addressed to the true Triune God, not to the Father of our Savior Jesus Christ, but to a fictitious god.

Lodges, even if they are not religious societies, have religious tendencies. They aim to ennable man, but without Christ. Their prayers, constitutions, and addresses show that they deny the inherited corruption of our race. They recognize morality only; and it is a morality which is no better than that of the heathen.¹

The Synodical Conference cannot, indeed, claim that its congregations, especially in the cities, contain no lodge-members at all; but whenever it receives a congregation in which lodge members are numerous and endeavor to exercise influence, a conflict and the exclusion of those who openly acknowledge their membership in the lodge are sure to follow.

5. Among the commendable practices of all parts of the Synodical Conference is that of opposing questionable WORLDLY AMUSEMENTS. The many worldly methods and means of raising money for Church purposes, such as fairs, picnics accompanied with beer and dancing, entertainments and parties, are rejected by them as sinful or at least as unbecoming to a Christian congregation. The perform-

1) The General Council at one of its conventions made the following declaration: "Any and all societies for moral and religious ends which do not rest on the supreme authority of God's holy Word as contained in the Old and New Testaments, which do not recognize our Lord Jesus Christ as the true God and the only Mediator between God and man, which teach doctrines or have usages or forms of worship condemned in God's Word and in the confessions of His Church, which assume to themselves what God has given to His Church and its ministers, which require undefined obligations to be assumed by oath, are unchristian."—The General Council, situated as it is under quite different circumstances, is not able to deal with the lodge question in the same manner as Missouri; the General Synod still less. The German synods belonging to the latter, the Wartburg and the German Nebraska Synod, have added to their constitution a paragraph which prohibits their *pastors* from belonging to lodges. The more Americanized a Church body becomes, the more difficult it is for that body to wage war against secret societies.

ances of Santa Claus, so frequently found in English churches on Christmas, are unknown here.

6. The zealous fostering of PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS is an especially prominent characteristic of the Synodical Conference. It is firmly of the conviction, that the public schools are not meant to teach religion, and should not even permit the reading of the Bible or the offering of prayer; and that the Sunday school is inadequate for the purpose of religious instruction, 1. because the time at its disposal is too short, and 2. because of the incapacity of the most of the Sunday school teachers. For this reason the Synodical Conference conducts parochial schools in connection with all its 2,772 congregations, often through the pastor, but generally through teachers educated for the purpose (§ 24, 1, b). One congregation of the Missouri Synod in Chicago, for instance, employs nine teachers, who teach in the German language in the morning, and in the English in the afternoon, and instruct its 928 pupils one hour each day in Biblical History and the Catechism.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INDEPENDENT GERMAN SYNODS.

§ 28. The Joint Synod of Ohio.

ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND PRESENT COMPOSITION. In the year 1802 the State of Ohio was received into the Union, and in 1805 the Pennsylvania Ministerium by means of traveling missionaries (§ 5, 3) already began mission work among the Germans, who now emigrated in large bodies from Pennsylvania and Virginia, and settled in Ohio. At first, from the year 1812, these preachers formed a CONFERENCE of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. But in 1818, at Somerset, O., they organized themselves into an independent SYNOD which at its eighth convention in 1825, at Lancaster, O., adopted the name "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States." In 1830 steps were taken to establish a THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. It was located at first in CANTON, O., in the private residence of the first professor, REV. W. SCHMIDT, but later was removed to COLUMBUS, O., where the theoretical department, together with the college connected with it (Capital University), is still located; while the PRACTICAL DEPARTMENT is found in St. Paul, Minn. In 1831 the Synod was divided into the Western and Eastern districts. An English district was soon added. The latter was destined to cause the synod no little disturbance. A Northern district also was organized. An "Indianapolis Synod" was received, and converted into the Southern district. Through the accession of the "Concordia Synod" the Concordia district was added. Besides these, the Ohio Synod also organized the Wisconsin, the Minnesota, the Kansas and Nebraska, the Washington, and the Texas districts. It numbers 514 pastors (including traveling missionaries), 665 congrega-

tions, and 94,395 communicants.—From the year 1846 PROF. W. F. LEHMAN (d. 1880. Comp. Biographical Sketch, p. 145) exercised a profound influence upon the synod. DR. M. LOY and DR. F. W. STELLHORN also had a large share in the development of the body.—In 1860 the synodical organ, the “LUTHERISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG,” was called into existence.—For a while candidates for the ministry were drawn from NEUENDETTELSAU, and sent to the institution at Columbus to complete their course. But the language question, and partly also the confessional question, resulted in a breaking off of the relations with Löhe (comp. § 23, 3). Later, candidates were drawn in a similar manner from HERMANNSBURG.

2. CONFLICTS OF THE SYNOD.

a) AGAINST UNIONISM IN ITS OWN MIDST. The Ohio Synod, which to-day is a strict Lutheran body, worked its way only gradually to this position. It is true, as early as 1820 it refused to take part in the organization of the GENERAL SYNOD (§ 7, 1); but that the reason for its refusal was not really of a confessional nature is apparent from the fact that at its convention in Columbus, O., in 1839 it was still willing to unite with the Reformed Synod (Peter and Schmidt, “Geschichte der Ohio-Synode,” p. 77). When, however, in 1867 it declined to become a part of the GENERAL COUNCIL (§ 17, 3), its reasons were exclusively questions of Lutheran doctrine and practice (the “four points”). In the constant conflict which it was obliged to wage against the NEW MEASURES and the anxious bench (§ 9, 1), the Ohio Synod became convinced of the importance of positive Lutheranism. Those un-Lutheran practices were advocated again and again by the English pastors and congregations; and thus the conflict between the German and the English languages continually took the form of a conflict between Lutheran and un-Lutheran (Methodistic) ways. Twice (1855 and 1866) the ENGLISH DISTRICT withdrew almost entire, leaving only a few faithful ones to re-organize the district. Until the year 1848 the doctrinal basis of the synod consisted only of the AUGSBURG

CONFESSTION; but from that time on the synod placed itself upon ALL THE SYMBOLICAL WRITINGS of the Book of Concord.

b) The Ohio Synod has waged an earnest warfare against SECRET SOCIETIES. Composed, as it was, to a large extent of persons who had not emmigrated from Germany but had removed westward from the eastern States, the lodge question presented DIFFICULTIES of which a synod which has to deal chiefly with the first generation of immigrants has no conception. After the question had for the first time been brought before the Western District in 1852, it became the subject of discussion and action on many occasions. (See Peter and Schmidt. "Geschichte etc.," pp. 26, 128, 139, 144, 191, 246).

c) AGAINST THE MISSOURIAN DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION. The more the confessional spirit grew in the Ohio Synod, the more that body felt that it agreed with Missouri. And when in 1872 the SYNODICAL CONFERENCE was formed, the Ohio Synod united with that body. But scarcely ten years later at its convention in WHEELING, W. Va. (1881), it announced ITS WITHDRAWAL from the Synodical Conference because of Missouri's doctrine of predestination. Of those who attended this convention, however, a minority of 19 pastors, against a majority of 119, took the side of Missouri. On the other hand, in the controversy concerning predestination which now involved the whole Synodical Conference, many pastors and congregations, especially in Wisconsin and Minnesota, went over to the Ohio Synod. In this way that body acquired entirely new mission fields. For the particulars of this controversy see Chap. VII, § 1, 3.

3. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES of the Ohio Synod. With respect to LANGUAGE, it has now overcome its difficulties (see above, 2, a, the twice repeated secession of the English District), and moves along in the path of quiet development. About ONE-THIRD of the pastors and congregations use the English language. The congregational papers (the "Lutherische Kirchenzeitung" and the "Lu-

theran Standard") appear in both languages. — As regards its THEOLOGICAL STANDPOINT, it differs from MISSOURI chiefly in the doctrine of predestination and the closely related doctrine of conversion. With respect to the doctrine concerning the ministry (Schmidt and Peter, pp. 192 and 202), Antichrist, Chiliasm, and the "open questions" it has made official declarations which are directed against Iowa. But since the colloquium held in Michigan City, Ind., in 1893, these two bodies have drawn somewhat more closely together. — In its PRACTICE with reference to doctrinal discipline, opposition to Unionism, secret societies and worldly methods in the Church, and the fostering of parochial schools, it is akin to Missouri (§ 27), though in concrete cases it generally does not proceed as sharply as the latter body (e. g. § 27. 3).

4. ITS INSTITUTIONS AND MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

1. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

a) THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES. 1. The Seminary at COLUMBUS, O., (the theoretical seminary of the synod) is located in the rooms of Capital University in that city. Its professors are: Dr. M. Loy (emeritus), Dr. F. W. Stellhorn Dr. G. H. Schodde, Prof. E. Pfeiffer and Dr. Theo. Mees. Number of students, 24. — 2. The practical seminary at ST. PAUL, MINN., was originally a part of the institution at Columbus, but was separated from it in 1885, and was at first removed to Afton, Minn., and then permanently located at St. Paul. A PRO-SEMINARY with a three years' course is connected with this institution. The head of the institution is Dr. H. Ernst. It has two other professors. The number of students is 20. — 3. An English practical seminary established in HICKORY, N. C., in 1892 has now been abandoned, and a pro-seminary has been established in its place.

b) COLLEGES. 1. CAPITAL UNIVERSITY at Columbus, O., was founded in 1850. The members of the theological faculty together with five other professors fill the chairs of the institution. It is attended by 90 students, of whom the majority have the ministry in view. This was the institution which, in accordance with a resolution of

synod, conferred the degree of doctor of divinity upon Dr. Walther in 1877, just a few years before the withdrawal of the Ohio Synod from the Synodical Conference.—2. LIMA COLLEGE at Lima, O., is under the direction of the Ohio Synod, although it has not yet formally become the property of the synod.

c) The TEACHERS' SEMINARY of the synod is located at Woodville, O., and has 3 professors and 19 students.

2. MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

a) The Ohio Synod has always been active in the sphere of HOME MISSIONS. For many decades the establishment of new congregations took place without any special plan. The congregations already in existence were used as the centre of operations. But in 1884 a Mission Board with five members was appointed to receive offerings for this cause, to consider applications for aid, and to extend whatever aid was possible. At the meetings of the district synods every missionary must appear before a committee appointed for the purpose, and give a detailed report of his field. Then the district synod passes resolutions with reference to appropriations for salaries etc. During the 19 years of its existence the Board has sent missionaries into practically all the States of the Union. In two years 34,704 dollars were contributed for this work.—In addition to a treasury for this inner mission work, the Board also has charge of a Church building fund, from which poor congregations may obtain loans for five years without interest. For this purpose there were contributed during two years the sum of 4,369 dollars.

b) Although the Ohio Synod does not carry on any FOREIGN mission work, it is not wholly inactive in this sphere. For years it has sent its offerings for foreign missions to HERMANNSBURG, which, as is well-known, carries on missionary work in India and South Africa. In the last two years 8,325 dollars have been gathered for foreign missions. In addition to this, a missionary is supported in PERSIA. The Ohio Synod also conducts a NEGRO MISSION

in Baltimore, Md. and in Charlotte, N. C., for which it collected in two years the sum of 2,012 dollars. For mission work among the Jews, 1,197 dollars were contributed during the same period.

For all missionary purposes the Ohio Synod, consisting of 514 pastors, 809 congregations and mission posts, and 94,395 communicants, contributed the sum of 119,946 dollars in two years.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

A man who for many years exercised a powerful influence upon the Ohio Synod was *Prof. William Frederic Lehmann*. For a period of thirty-four years after Prof. Winckler's resignation, he was the head of the seminary at Columbus, and at the same time professor in the college. From 1859 he was also chief editor of the "Lutherische Kirchenzeitung," and continued this work till shortly before his death. He was not fond of controversy, but always wrote with judicial coolness and caution. He was born in 1820 in Markkroningen (Württemberg), and came to America with his parents when he was four years old. They settled in Philadelphia. Here he attracted the attention of Dr. Demme, and was later sent by him to Columbus, Ohio, to be educated for the ministry. He completed his course amid many privations, living with other students on forty-six cents a week, with corn-bread and potatoes as his chief diet, and sleeping at night upon a bed of straw. In 1840 he became pastor of eight congregations in Fairfield County, Ohio, labored later in Somerset, Ohio, with much success, and then in 1847 entered upon his extended activity in the seminary. He died in 1880.

§ 29. The Iowa Synod.

At this point we take up again the thread of events broken off at the end of § 23, 2, a.

1. THE ORIGIN OF THE IOWA SYNOD. When, by the attitude of the pastors around Saginaw, Mich., and the letter of President Wyneken, the demand had been made of Loehe that he should place his seminary under the direction of Missouri or abandon it, the adherents of Loehe, 22

in number, under the leadership of Seminary-inspector GROSSMANN and Pastor DEINDOERFER, journeyed together to the State of Iowa in 1853, in order to carry on a new missionary work there independently of Missouri. A part of the company remained with Inspector Grossmann at Dubuque on the Mississippi, while the rest journeyed 60 miles farther northwest with Pastor Deindoerfer, and founded the colony of "ST. SEBALD AT THE SPRING." Very soon afterwards two men, one of whom was SIGMUND FRITSCHEL, arrived from Lohe's institution at Neuendettelsau. These two, together with Grossmann and Deindoerfer, met August 24, 1854 in St. Sebald. "No synod was ever organized under more discouraging circumstances." This is the unanimous verdict of all who have described these beginnings. Repeatedly in its seminary the last dollar had been expended and the last piece of bread eaten, while no one knew whence more was to be obtained. The SEMINARY WAS LOCATED IN DUBUQUE in a building which served at the same time as the home of the Inspector. Once it had to be temporarily closed for lack of funds, and one of its professors (S. Fritschel) took charge of a congregation in Wisconsin. Pastor Deindoerfer lived at first in a little deserted log-cabin, and then in the house of the first settler in St. Sebald, whose solitary room was divided into two parts by a board partition, so as to accommodate the two families. In 1857 the seminary was REMOVED to the vicinity of ST. SEBALD, in order that the students might assist in farming, and might thus provide for a part of their maintenance. Shortly before this, GOTTFRIED FRITSCHEL had arrived from Neuendettelsau. In the following year his brother Sigmund also returned to the seminary as professor. But in spite of all difficulties and outward conflicts, THE SYNOD GREW, at first slowly and gradually, and then more rapidly. In 1865 it already numbered 52 pastors, 70 congregations, and 6,000 communicants. About the year 1874 the number of pastors exceeded one hundred. In 1875, in consequence of the Klindworth difficulties, about 20 pastors went over to the Missouri and the Wisconsin synods (comp. Fritschel..

II, pp. 243-54; Deindoerfer, pp. 144-8.) But how much the synod has grown since that time is evident from the following figures: In 1875 it numbered 114 pastors and 180 congregations; in 1882, 170 pastors and 272 congregations; in 1900, over 400 pastors, 757 congregations, and 68,500 communicants. In 1896 the Texas Synod united with Iowa as one of its districts. A small part of the Texas Synod withdrew at this time, and formed a new body under the old name. See under Statistics.

2. CONTROVERSY WITH MISSOURI. The points involved in this controversy are given in § 23, 2, a-f.

At the time of its organization at St. Sebald in 1854 the Iowa Synod adopted as its basis ALL THE SYMBOLICAL BOOKS. In order to give expression to Loehe's position over against Missouri, IT HAD ADDED: "Since there are within the Lutheran Church various tendencies, this synod identifies itself with that tendency which, on the path marked out by the Confessions, and under the guidance of God's Word, labors toward a greater perfection of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." (Loehe differed from Missouri on the doctrines of the Church and the ministry substantially in this, that he maintained: "Only those things in the Symbolical writings which are intended as confessional statements are obligatory. Other things are open questions, and give room for a deepening and further development of theological knowledge through Scriptural study.") But this declaration of the synod was at once sharply ATTACKED by Missouri. At its convention in 1858, therefore, the Iowa Synod adopted a series of propositions explaining that declaration, and containing among other things a THEORY concerning the difference between the ESSENTIAL and the NON-ESSENTIAL elements in the symbolical writings. That theory is as follows: "The actual confession, the 'norma docendi' binding the conscience, consists only of the THETICAL AND ANTITHETICAL DECISIONS which each article renders and establishes in opposition to falsehood and error." This was not intended however, to exclude all portions of the confessional writings except those begin-

ning with "We believe, teach and confess" or "We reject and condemn" or similar expressions. But it meant that not every proof nor every explanation etc., which may have been casually introduced into the confessional writings is to be regarded as an article of faith which is binding upon the consciences. When Prof. Sigmund Fritschel, by appointment of the synod, went over to Germany, the synod requested recognized Lutheran faculties and theologians to give their OPINION on the matters in controversy. All those who were asked, the faculty at Dorpat, and Drs. Münnkel, Harless, Luthardt, and Guericke, substantially agreed with Iowa. A few objected, however, to the formal distinction which was made with respect to the contents of the Symbolical Books. A distinction must, indeed, be made, they said, between what is essential and what is accidental in the Confessions; but the laying down of the rule by which obligatory and non-obligatory doctrines in the Symbols are to be distinguished does not lie within the province of an ecclesiastical body. In the Symbols everything that forms an essential part of the faith of the Church is binding, no matter in what form it is given there. Thereupon the Iowa Synod at its convention in TOLEDO in 1867 adopted resolutions in which it held fast its position that a distinction is to be made between what is essential and what is accidental or secondary in the Symbols, but ABANDONED its FORMAL distinction of 1858, that the thetical and antithetical statements are the only essential elements.

At the same convention in Toledo the Iowa Synod resolved to invite the Missouri Synod to take part with it in a COLLOQUIUM. This colloquium, which was held in the same year (1867) in MILWAUKEE, Wis., discussed the points treated in § 23, 2, a-f, without reaching an agreement. Indeed, the differences became more sharply defined. In 1873 the Iowa Synod stated its position on the controverted points in the DAVENPORT THESIS, which we give in the Appendix because they are an exhaustive exhibition of Iowa's view of the differences between it and Missouri. They give the position of the Iowa Synod, though Missouri,

perhaps, might not accept in every particular the statements giving its position. There should be compared with these theses the stenographic report of the Milwaukee colloquium prepared by BEYER; also Hochstetter, "Geschichte der Missouri Synode," pp. 287-309.

At MADISON in 1875 the Iowa Synod again occupied itself officially with these points of difference. During the years 1874-75 the professor of the Norwegian Synod at the seminary in St. Louis, F. A. SCHMIDT, had attacked the Iowa Synod in a series of articles in the "*Lutheraner*."¹⁾ In these articles he endeavored to show by documentary proof the dishonesty of the Iowa Synod, and especially of its theological leaders. The articles (in connection with the KLINDWORTH TROUBLES) disturbed many, especially the younger pastors; and this all the more, because the professors Fritschel permitted the articles, because of their extremely personal nature, to go unanswered. The Synod now re-affirmed its position, and determined to maintain it unmoved. The Madison resolutions were later printed as an appendix to the constitution, and pastors who are received into the synod must first signify their acceptance of the principles there laid down. Since that year the synod has not taken any official action in the matter. The attacks of Schmidt were repelled with documentary proof in the "*Kirchliche Zeitschrift*." Vol. I, II. (Separately under the title, "*Iowa and Missouri*").

In the predestinarian controversy between Missouri and Ohio, (§ 23. 3) the Iowa Synod also took a stand. As early as 1870, in a note to a treatise on the subject of usury, Dr. Gottfried Fritschel cautioned Missouri against going astray in the mazes of predestination. When "*LEHRE UND WEHRE*" defended the propositions to which he objected, he published in Brobst's "*THEOL. MONATSHEFTE*" (1872 and 1873) a series of articles which show how clearly and fundamentally he had comprehended the matter from the start.— And

1) The articles appeared separately also under the title: "*Die Iowischen Missverständnisse und Bemühtungen aus den Händeln und Büchern beleuchtet*."

when in 1879 the controversy was raging in the Synodical Conference, the Iowa Synod, at its next convention in DUBUQUE, Ia. (1882), took an official position in the matter by adopting the substance of a paper presented by Dr. Fritschel, namely, "TREATISE ON ELECTION" and "THESES" prepared by him (see Deindoerfer, pp. 228-230).—No differences of opinion on the subject appeared in the Iowa Synod. In both documents it declared against the doctrine held by Missouri, because it saw in it, not only a proper rejection of synergism, but the setting up of a false doctrine that was akin to the Reformed doctrine of predestination, namely, irresistibility of grace, separation of the general benevolent will and election into two opposing wills, and confusion or denial of the distinction between wilful and natural resistance. (Comp. S. Fritschel, "Unterscheidungslehren," and the "Theses on Election," by Dr. G. Fritschel on p. 177).

3. THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE IOWA SYNOD in matters of doctrine have been brought out in the preceding paragraph as well as in § 23, 2, a-f. In matters of practice the following characteristics may be noted:

a) CONSTITUTION. Section 16 of its constitution reads: "The synod exercises Church-government over all the pastors and congregations belonging to it, and is the highest source of appeal for the settlement of disputes in its midst." §17: "It sees to it that Church-discipline is administered." The "synod" here meant is not the district synod, but the general body, which according to § 19 has the oversight over the districts. The general body is not, as in the case of the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South, merely an advisory body, but gives the final decision in all matters of complaint, (§ 23); and the resolutions of the districts are subject to the revision of the general body. This is explained by the fact that the synod did not originate through a union of the districts, but was in the course of time divided into districts.

b) The Iowa Synod from the start laid great emphasis upon the introduction of LITURGICAL FORMS OF WORSHIP, upon private confession in addition to public confession, and upon the examination of those applying for reception into the congregation (catechumenate). But in the case of many congregations the efforts of the synod in this direction met with little appreciation, and, according to the judgment of Deindoerfer, a too great insistence on these matters often hindered the synod's growth.

c) The synod at an early date sought to make provision for the VISITATION of its field, so that it might exercise oversight over the doctrine and practice of congregations and pastors. The district synods are divided into visitation-circles, and there is a standing provision that every parish shall be visited at least once in four years. The object of this visitation, and the manner in which it is to be made, may be seen from the "order of visitation," as given by Deindoerfer pp. 280-284.

d) That the Iowa Synod has taken a decided stand against SECRET SOCIETIES appears from its attitude toward the General Council. It demanded that the General Council should carry out the principle that such anti-Christian societies are fundamentally incompatible with Christianity. The PRACTICE of the Iowa Synod is as follows: If members of anti-Christian lodges are found in congregations received by the synod, they may be tolerated, but they must allow themselves to be instructed by the pastor concerning the anti-Christian character of these societies; and no new members of such societies dare be received.

4. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. The WARTBURG THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY is a growth from the teachers' seminary founded by Loehle in Saginaw, and was opened in DUBUQUE, IOWA, in 1853. On account of the difficulty of maintaining it in a city for lack of means, it was removed in 1857 to ST. SEBALD, where in spite of outward poverty it had a healthy growth. In 1868 it had thriven so well, that it was thought safe to separate the preparatory course from it, and

to establish a special college at Galena, Ill., — a step which caused the synod many difficulties.— In 1874 the theological seminary was removed to MENDOTA, and housed in a building which had been used for the conducting of a college conjointly with the Synod of Northern Illinois, but which had been abandoned. When in 1888 the building became too small, the city of DUBUQUE, Ia., made an acceptable offer, and then in 1889 the seminary was transferred to that city, where meanwhile suitable buildings had been erected for its accommodation. The first president of the institution was INSPECTOR GROSSMANN. The two BROTHERS FRITSCHEL, sent over by Loehe, joined him, and soon undertook most of the work in the seminary. After a short time Prof. Dr. S. Fritschel became the head of the institution, and retained the position till his death in 1900. Dr. W. PRÖHL is now president of the institution. The seminary, which contains both a theoretical and a practical department, is conducted principally in the German language. It numbers 4 professors and 40 students.— The COLLEGE dates from the year 1868. In consequence of the Klindworth difficulties it was removed in 1875 to Mendota, and conducted there in connection with the seminary. In 1885 it became independent and found a home at Waverly, Ia. Since 1894 it has been located at Clinton, Ia., where it seems now to be permanently established. It numbers 7 professors and 84 students. In Waverly, Iowa, the synod has a TEACHERS' SEMINARY, together with an academy and a pro-seminary since 1879. Professors 5, pupils 83.

5. MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES.

a) FOREIGN MISSIONS. For a while the Iowa Synod, though still a small body, conducted an INDIAN MISSION in the West (see Fritschel 247-59. Comp. § 22, 3.) But in consequence of repeated Indian wars the mission had to be abandoned. The MISSIONARY OFFERINGS in recent times have been made chiefly for the Neuendettelsau mission in New Guinea. A part of the offerings goes also to the General Council mission in India, the Leipzig mission, and Hermannsburg.—HOME MISSIONS, i. e., the gathering of fellow-

believers into congregations, has been carried on with such zeal by the Iowa Synod, that it deserves to be called a genuine missionary synod. Under the care of its mission board there are 73 missions scattered throughout the States of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Texas, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. In the three years 1899-1901, it contributed for home missions the sum of 25,734 dollars.—The Synod has three orphanages; namely, at Waverly, Iowa, Toledo, Ohio, and Muscatine, Iowa. A home for the aged, for which a building is now being erected, is connected with the orphanage at Muscatine.

During the triennium of 1899-1901 the benevolent contributions of the synod amounted to 145,478 dollars.—The organs of the synod are “Das Kirchenblatt,” for the laymen, and “Die kirchliche Zeitschrift,” for the pastors.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

The brothers *Fritschel* have exercised so great an influence not only upon the Iowa Synod, but upon large parts of the Lutheran Church in America, especially through their relations with the Missouri Synod (in the controversy described in § 23, 2, a-f), that it is necessary to add some biographical details concerning them.

Dr. Sigmund Fritschel was born in Nürnberg in 1833, and Dr. Gottfried Fritschel in 1836 at the same place. They attended the public school and then the Latin school of their native city. In 1850 Sigmund entered Loehe's missionary institution, while Gottfried, who had gone as far as “secunda,” entered the employ of a commission merchant. But Gottfried soon relinquished this employment, and also entered Loehe's institution. He studied a year in Erlangen also, and then followed his brother Sigmund to Dubuque, Iowa, where according to Loehe's wish they both became professors in the seminary. Here they labored side by side with rich success, till parted by death. “They were inseparable. They supplemented one another both in their natural gifts and their knowledge. The one was reserved and calm, the other active and emotional; the one carrying men with him by the fire of his oratory, the other convincing them by the clearness and simplicity of his logic; the one, like a Paul or a Peter, ever ready with the right word and proper reply; the other, like a John, more contemplative, but not on that account less active. If the

elder brother was the debater on the floor of the synod, the younger possessed in a high degree the gift of formulating in correct, clear and simple manner the results of the proceedings. Most of the resolutions, propositions and declarations of the Iowa Synod were drawn up by the younger brother." At the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Iowa Synod, they received from Muhlenberg College the degree of doctor of divinity. Gottfried, the younger, died in 1888; his brother Sigmund in 1900. Of their sons, eight adopted the vocation of their fathers, though three of them died either before or after concluding their studies.

§ 30. The Buffalo Synod.

The beginnings of the Buffalo Synod and its conflict with Missouri have been given in § 23, 1. Only a few points need to be added here. In 1866, after the colloquium with Missouri, the Buffalo Synod came close to DISSOLUTION. But it recovered itself again and began to GROW: and at the time of Grabau's death in 1879 it had almost regained its former strength.

In agreement with Grabau's conception of the Church and the ministry, he was called, as the head of the synod, the "Senior Ministerii." In the new constitution of 1886 this title was dropped, and that of president substituted as the designation of the head of the body. In opposition to Missouri, Buffalo maintains that ORDINATION is an essential part of the "rite vocatus" of the Augsburg Confession (Art. 14), and that the Church in its nature is VISIBLE as well as invisible.

In matters of DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE the Buffalo Synod is as strict as its great opponent Missouri. Its pastors must accept all the Symbolical Books. The 11th article of the Augustana is taken literally, and there are none of its congregations which do not have PRIVATE ABSOLUTION. Indeed it is only since 1891 that public absolution is permitted. Gross sins are punished with EXCOMMUNICATIO, and the restoration of the fallen one can take place only

after he has publicly professed repentance for his sin. No church member dare be a member of a LODGE. Much emphasis is laid upon PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Sunday-schools have only recently been introduced. The pastors intone the liturgy. The Buffalo Synod is divided into the eastern and western conferences, which meet semi-annually. The general body meets once in three years. It has a theological SEMINARY with 2 professors and 12 students in Buffalo. The synodical organ is called "Die Wachende Kirche." It numbers 27 pastors, 40 congregations, 24 schools, 7 teachers and 5,250 communicants. Its benevolent contributions during a period of three years amounted to \$1,829.

§ 31. The Michigan Synod.

The MICHIGAN SYNOD (§ 25) was organized in 1860. It united with the GENERAL COUNCIL in 1868, but withdrew in 1887, because at the convention in MONROE, MICH. one of the members of the General Council (Dr. Passavant) preached in a non-Lutheran Church. A SEMINARY was founded in Saginaw, Mich. As the synod was only a small body, it was obliged to lean upon a larger body for support. Negotiations with the Ohio Synod were fruitless. At last in 1893 it united with the synods of Wisconsin and Minnesota as a part of the SYNOICAL CONFERENCE, with the expectation on the part of the other two synods that the seminary at Saginaw would be abandoned in favor of the seminary at Milwaukee. In carrying out this demand, disturbances arose, in consequence of which the Michigan Synod withdrew from this union, though at the loss of a considerable number of members. In 1897, still numbering 37 pastors, 56 congregations, and 5,750 communicants, it entered into a union with the AUGSBURG SYNOD, a small body which at that time stood alone. But after a short time these two bodies separated. The Augsburg Synod was dissolved, and

its members entered the Ohio Synod, while the Michigan Synod has since that time stood alone. In the Rev. F. Beer, formerly director of the seminary at Kropp, it has secured a valuable professor for its seminary at Saginaw. At the present time the Michigan Synod numbers 37 pastors, 56 congregations, and 5,750 communicants.

NOTE.—When, in 1896, the Synod of Texas united with the Synod of Iowa, a small portion of the former body seceded and continued the organization under the old name. See statistics on page 182.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NORWEGIANS AND DANES.

§ 32. Hauge's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church.

At the end of the eighteenth century Norway, influenced from Germany, lay under the spell of rationalism. Then in 1797 HANS NILSEN HAUGE, a layman, the "Spener of the North," arose; and through him God brought about a profound and permanent awakening, which extended over all Norway and reached even into Denmark; yea, which is felt to this day among the Norwegian immigrants of America.

In 1840 ELLING EIelsen, an ardent pupil of Hauge, came to America, and, assisted by kindred spirits, gathered a society which organized itself at Jefferson Prairie, Rock County, Wis., as the "Evangelical Lutheran Church of America." There was no intention at first to organize other congregations and finally a synod. Eielsen only desired to gather together the "awakened ones," in order from such a center to bring about an awakening from sin in ever widening circles. As Hauge had done in Norway, so Eielsen now in this country advocated preaching by laymen. About 1850 the society adopted a constitution, against which it was urged by PASTOR P. A. RASMUSSEN that it contained donatistic and other errors. For this reason he and his adherents withdrew, leaving the society greatly weakened. When finally, in 1876, the constitution was revised and the name changed to "Hauge's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church," Eielsen himself with a few followers withdrew, and continued his society under the old name.

The synod numbers 108 pastors, 276 congregations, and 19,000 communicants. It has at Red Wing, Minn. the "RED

WING SEMINARY," a theological institution together with a preparatory department. The course in the latter department requires five years, and in the theological department three. The institution has 7 professors and about 150 students. The synod carries on a foreign missionary work in China, where it has 9 missionaries.

§ 33. **The Norwegian Ev. Luth. Synod of America**

is an ecclesiastical body which up to the time of the controversy on predestination was A MEMBER OF THE SYNOICAL CONFERENCE (§§ 21 and 23, 3). The origin of this synod reaches back to the missionary activity of J. W. C. DIETTRICHSON, a minister of the Norwegian State Church, who came to America in 1844, and preached at ten different places in Wisconsin and Illinois. At that time there was a very strong current of Norwegian immigration setting in toward Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri. Among the FOUNDERS of the synod were Pastors A. Otteson, H. A. Preus, and A. C. Preus, all of whom were ordained in Norway. This synod has been from the start a gathering-point for all those who insisted on CONSERVATIVE LUTHERANISM. Almost at the same time when the awakening of the laity took place through Hauge, a return from rationalism to the Lutheranism of the fathers took place among the pastors through the activity of a number of believing professors at the University of Christiania (among them CASPARI). The founders of this Norwegian Synod were representatives of this tendency.

The synod grew rapidly, and in 1886 numbered 194 pastors and 77,399 communicants. It was frequently threatened by internal strifes. A conflict of a more serious character broke out in its midst when Dr. Walther in 1880 advocated his DOCTRINE OF ELECTION. The Norwegian Synod had entered into close relations with the Missouri Synod by joining the Synodical Conference in 1872. Although the majority of the pastors were disposed to side

with Dr. Walther, the synod nevertheless withdrew from the Synodical Conference in order to satisfy the opponents of Missouri and thus to prevent a break. But the endeavor was unavailing. Dr. Walther's chief opponent, PROF. F. A. SCHMIDT, occupied an influential position in the seminary of the synod, then located at Northfield, Minn. His followers numbered about one-third of the synod. Together with these he withdrew in 1887 and took part in the organization of the "United Norwegian Synod" (see following §). The Lutheran Cyclopaedia says, p. 348, "It would seem to an impartial observer, however, that while the predestination controversy indeed hastened this division, yet there were important secondary causes which, in course of time, might have brought about a similar result. More recent developments clearly prove that two divergent tendencies had arisen in the synod. The more recent accessions and younger stock had become more and more impatient of the rigid Missourian orthodoxy, objectivism, and exclusivism. They favored a more subjective presentation of the truth, and a more tolerant spirit in non-essentials."

The present strength of the synod is as follows: pastors, 280, congregations 900, and communicants 76,158.

This synod has important educational institutions: the LUTHER COLLEGE in DECORAH, IOWA, the oldest of all the higher Scandinavian schools of America, with 9 professors and about 200 students; and the LUTHER SEMINARY at HAMLINE, MINN., with 4 professors and 44 students. Besides these, the synod has a teachers' seminary, an orphanage, a home for the aged, and four other colleges and seminaries which are conducted by private associations within its bounds.

In Utah, South Africa, China, India, Armenia, and in other places it does mission work, for which it raises annually the sum of about 6,000 dollars. It expends twice this sum on home missions. The total benevolent contributions amount to over 50,000 dollars per annum.

§ 34. The United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America.

This body was formed by members from the following bodies: 1. The Norwegian Danish Augustana SYNOD. This is the body which in 1870 separated peaceably from the Swedish Augustana Synod in order to form an independent organization (§ 19, 5, b).¹ 2. The Norwegian Danish CONFERENCE. The founders of this body, members of the synod mentioned above, desired to affiliate with Pastor C. L. Clausen, an influential Danish minister, who on account of the slavery question had severed his connection with the Danish Augustana "Synod." This led to a division, and the formation of this "Conference." These two bodies continued to exist side by side until the year 1889, when the United Norwegian Lutheran Church was organized. To these were added then, 3. The opponents of Missouri from the camp of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America, under the leadership of Dr. F. A. Schmidt and Rev. P. A. Rasmussen (§ 34). These latter men, at the time of their temporary organization at Minneapolis, Minn., (Feb. 1888), had sent a call to the above named "synod" and "conference" as well as to the Hauge Synod to form a common Norwegian synod. The latter had refused to take any part in the plan. — — The United Norwegian Synod in 1899 numbered 350 pastors, 1,059 congregations, and 123,575 "members." Soon after its organization 50 pastors, 60 congregations and 5,500 members seceded, and formed the organization described in the following §. According to the synodical report of 1903 the synod numbered 377 pastors, 1,221 congregations, and 139,127 communicants. The benevolent contributions during that year amounted to 139,980 dollars.

The following EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS are under the direction of this body: 1. The Theological Seminary in St. Paul, Minn. At this institution Dr. F. A. Schmidt, who

1) On account of national peculiarities the Danes separated from the Norwegians in 1884. (See § 36.)

took such a prominent part in the predestinarian controversy, is one of the professors. 2. St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minn., Augustana College in Canton, S. Dak., Concordia College in Moorehead, Minn., Pleasant View College in Ottawa, Ill., Scandinavian Academy in Scandinavia, Wis., St. Ansgar Academy in St. Ansgar, Iowa., Mt. Horeb Academy in Mt. Horeb, Wis., Waldorf College in Forest City, Iowa, and a teachers' seminary in Madison, Minn. In these institutions over one thousand students are receiving instruction. — — In addition to these, the United Norwegians have an orphanage and home for the aged in Wittenberg, Wis., and a deaconess institution in Chicago. — — They carry on foreign mission work in Madagascar and in China (chief station Honkow).

§ 35. The Norwegian Lutheran Free Church

is an organization that gathers around AUGSBURG SEMINARY in Minneapolis, Minn., as its center. This influential seminary, which formerly belonged to the Norwegian Danish "Conference" (see above), had from its origin and still has its own peculiar STAMP. It lays great stress on the personal piety of those who are to be trained as ministers of the Word, and emphasizes the fact that the congregation is a brotherhood of true believers. It regards the local congregation as the true form of the kingdom of God in this world. The local congregations are "held together, not by constitution and ceremonies, but by the Lutheran Confession. The Church is not a higher unity above the congregations, and has therefore no authority over them. Free congregations co-operate for common interests, such as missions, schools, etc., according to their own will and resolution." (Luth. Cycl., p. 349.) The seminary represents in its tendency, therefore, a combination of Pietism and Congregationalism. When in 1889 the "Conference" was merged in the United Norwegian Church (§ 34), the Augs-

burg Seminary became the theological school of that body. But a constantly increasing OPPOSITION TO THE PRINCIPLES of the seminary now became manifest. Indeed, in 1893 the United Norwegian Lutheran Church severed its relations with it, and withdrew its support. The consequence was that the advocates of the seminary, numbering 50 pastors, 60 congregations, and 5,000 members, formed a separate organization.

The Augsburg Seminary, the oldest Norwegian theological school in America, was opened in 1869 in Marshall, Wis., and transferred to Minneapolis, Minn., in 1872. Its first president was PROF. A. WEENAS. Its president since 1876 has been PROF. GEORGE SVERDRUP. During a period of 30 years it has trained 245 pastors. Entrance to the theological seminary proper is preceded by a six years' preliminary course, from which, however,—in accordance with the principles of the institution, requiring that God's Word shall form the chief subject of study,—the study of the classical languages and literature is excluded.

§ 36. The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

The first Danish Lutheran Synod in America was organized in 1872 under the leadership of the pastors Rasmussen, Nielsen and Andersen. This Synod, which was called the "DANISH EV. LUTH. CHURCH IN AMERICA," had its own seminary in West Denmark, Wis. It supported the foreign mission work of the General Council and of the Danish Church in India. In 1893, after several years of dissension along doctrinal lines, this body broke up into two separate synods. The so-called "Inner Mission Folks," under the leadership of Christian Anker, P. S. Vig and others, organized the "DANISH EV. LUTH. CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA"; while the "Grundtvigian" faction, which adhered more strictly to the teachings of the great Danish psalmist and poet, Frederick Severin Grundtvig, led by a

son of the latter, the theologian Helvig and others, organized under the old name, "THE DANISH EV. LUTH. CHURCH IN AMERICA," though they are better known as "GRUNDTVIGIANS." This schism led to the closing of the West Denmark Seminary and the organization of new schools. Thus the old Danish "High School" at Elk Horn, Ia., became the seminary and college of the Danish Ev. Luth. Church in North America; while the other new body meanwhile established its seminary and college at Des Moines, Ia., under the name of Grand View College. Other Grundtvigian institutions are Dannebo High School at Tyler, Minn., Nystad High School at Nysted, Neb., and Ashland High School at Ashland, Mich. In 1900 the Grundtvigians numbered 47 pastors, 66 congregations, and 10,000 communicants.

A second Danish synod, the "DANISH EV. LUTH. CHURCH ASSOCIATION IN AMERICA," was organized in 1884 in Omaha, Neb., by only nine pastors. But by the year 1892 it had grown to the number of 30 pastors, 54 congregations and 3,600 communicants. These men were chiefly such Danes as had formerly, together with the Norwegians, belonged to the Swedish Augustana Synod (§ 19, 5b). On account of certain national peculiarities the Danes separated from the Norwegians in 1884 and formed the "Church Association" mentioned above. It had a seminary and college at Blair, Neb. As the years passed by, a growing feeling of good-fellowship between the lately organized "Danish Ev. Luth. Church in North America" and the "Danish Ev. Luth. Church Association" culminated in a union of these two bodies at Minneapolis, Minn., October 1, 1896. THE UNITED DANISH EV. LUTH. CHURCH IN AMERICA was the result. In 1903 this synod numbered 101 pastors and missionaries, 152 congregations, 55 missions, and 17,307 communicants. It sustains a mission among the Cherokee Indians in Indian Territory; it has a prosperous foreign mission in Japan, and it has lately taken steps toward the organization of a "Mormon Mission" at Salt Lake City, Utah. The synod's college and seminary — Dana College and Trinity Seminary — are located at

Blair, Neb. Dr. J. N. Lenker, the well-known statistician, filled the chair of Church History and Old Testament Exegesis in this institution for several years. The other schools are: Elk Horn College, now operated as a preparatory school; Luther College, Racine, Wis.; and Ansgar College, Hutchinson, Minn. The last named school was organized by Prof. H. W. Foght, lately called as principal of the Academy of Midland College, Atchison, Kas., and Dr. V. G. A. Tressler, now of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. In spite of a disastrous fire within five months of its completion, the number of students in attendance reached almost 300 at the close of the second year.

SUPPLEMENT 1. A synod of FINNS (The Suomi Synod) was organized in 1890 in the State of Michigan. It numbers 11 pastors and about 5,000 communicants.

SUPPLEMENT 2. There is also an ICELANDIC SYNOD with 8 pastors, 36 congregations and 6,122 communicants.

SUPPLEMENT 3. In 1903 a SLOVAK SYNOD was organized in Pennsylvania, consisting of 11 pastors and 20 congregations.

CONCLUSION.

In Germany and America, among friends and foes, it has become customary to complain of the sadly divided condition of the Lutheran Church in America. There are, indeed, 19 larger or smaller general and independent synods. But we must not make the divisions appear worse than they really are. The independent existence of a large number of these synods is due to a difference of language. In the nature of the case, Slovaks, Finns, Icelanders, Danes, Norwegians, and Germans must, as long as they use their native tongue, work through separate ecclesiastical bodies. Many synods which exist independently of one another are yet one in spirit, and are hindered from organic union solely because special circumstances seem to make such a union unadvisable at present. There are in reality only three different tendencies in the Lutheran Church of America: one representing confessional indifferentism; another, a rigid confessionalism; and a third, a conservative Lutheranism, occupying a middle ground between the other two. The first includes a minority in the General Synod, and pastors in the United Synod of the South, in the General Council, among the Scandinavians, and in some of the independent synods. The second class comprises the synods of the Synodical Conference, the kindred spirits among the Norwegians (§33), the Buffalo Synod, and a portion of the Ohio Synod. The middle tendency is represented by the General Council, the Iowa Synod, and the Ohio Synod. This healthy middle tendency is also gaining more and more ground in the United Synod of the South, and in ever widening circles of the General Synod, especially in its German districts. In designating the position of the General Council as the healthy middle tendency, we do not mean to say that in that body,

especially in matters of practice, there is nothing that needs to be overcome. On the contrary there are many things in this sphere which it may learn from the rigid Lutheran tendency.

The history of the Lutheran Church in America has, indeed, been marked by violent controversies. But this should not be regarded as surprising. Immigration cast together on a free Church soil Lutheran elements of the most diverse character. People of conservative Lutheran training like the Mecklenburgers, Hannoverians, Saxons, etc., found themselves in cities or neighboring settlements thrown together with persons who in South Germany (e. g. in Württemberg), had been accustomed to an entirely different type of Lutheranism, and with others who had grown up under the influence of the Union. Each settlement sought, if possible, to perpetuate the Church as it had existed in their old home. To this must be added the influence of men of divergent theological views, such as Walther; Grabau, Lehmann, the brothers Fritschel, Esbjörn, Schmucker, Eielsen.

In the controversies, theological opinions may often have been mistaken for the clear teaching of Scripture; but in general these conflicts bear testimony, that in the Lutheran Church of America the formal principle of the Reformation is taken seriously, and that the negative criticism has not obtained a foothold.

A strong desire for union is apparent throughout the Lutheran Church of America. Of this, the repeated free conferences are a proof.

In the matter of growth, the Lutherans in America were at a disadvantage compared with those denominations whose native language was English. The children of the Germans and Scandinavians became anglicized, and the Church was not always successful in introducing the preaching of English at the right moment. Thus large numbers of her youth were lost to other denominations. Her growth has been greatly impeded also by the inadequacy of her institutions for the training of ministers. Great progress, how-

ever, has been made in this direction in the last few decades. In spite of the greatest hindrances the Lutheran Church in America has grown to such an extent, that she holds the third place numerically among the Protestant denominations of this country; and for several decades she has had the largest percentage of increase, so that she is destined, to all appearances, finally to take the first place. May her growth be not only outward but also inward!

APPENDIX.

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I. THE DAVENPORT THESSES.

(§§ 29; 23, 2).

1. The oldest subjects of controversy between the Synod of Iowa and the Synod of Missouri are the doctrines of the Church and of the Ministry. Concerning the doctrine of the Church we could not agree with the Synod of Missouri when it declared that the Church in its nature is invisible in the sense that all that belongs to its visibility must be excluded from the definition of its nature.

2. On the other hand we maintained, that the Church is, indeed, chiefly the communion of the Holy Ghost and of faith in the heart, but that it is also the communion of the Word and the Sacraments, and that in this sense it is at once visible and invisible.

3. Since Missouri in its colloquium with Buffalo has conceded that the communion of the means of grace must be reckoned as a part of the nature of the Church, we no longer regard ourselves as holding views on this point in opposition to those of Missouri.

4. In the doctrine of the ministry, we cannot concede that according to the confession of our Church the ministry originates through the transference of the rights of the spiritual priesthood possessed by the individual Christian.

5. In opposition to this view, we maintain that the public office of the ministry is transmitted by God through the congregation of believers in its entirety and essence by means of the regular call, because the "mandatum de constitutis ministris" (i. e., the command to ordain preachers) is not given to the individual members, but to the Church as such.

6. In connection with the controversy concerning the Church and the ministry, a difference of attitude towards the Church's Symbols became manifest. While Missouri extended the obligation of the symbols to all the statements contained in them without exception, we limited the obligation to those statements to which the symbols intended to give symbolical fixedness; and accordingly we distinguished between the thetical and antithetical decisions as the substance of the confessions which is binding on the conscience, and the casual elaborations, proofs, etc., as parts which do not possess immediate and independent symbolical authority.

7. At the colloquium at Milwaukee, Missouri abandoned the assertion that each and every doctrine which occurs in any manner in the symbols is on that very account binding; and we on our part abandoned the attempt, by means of a distinction between confessional statements and elaborative or demonstrative statements, to define the boundary between what is binding and what is not binding in the symbols. An agreement was reached, in accordance with which both sides designated all the articles of faith contained in the symbols as confessionally binding.

8. In the doctrine concerning the Last Things, which formed another subject of controversy between us and Missouri, the first point to be mentioned is the doctrine of the Antichrist. Missouri maintained that the Antichrist in the real sense of the word is the pope alone and exclusively; but with this assertion we can not agree.

9. As regards the pope, we accept all the declarations of our Symbolical Books concerning his anti-Christian character, and acknowledge that all the marks of Antichrist which they enumerate agree with the pope's kingdom and members.

10. But while we hereby acknowledge our acceptance of the statements of our confession concerning the Antichrist as found by our fathers in Dan. 11, and of the application which they made of those marks to the papacy, we cannot concede that the respective passages in our Symbolical Books claim to exhaust the exegetical interpretation of the prophecies cited, and we do not regard it as being in conflict with our confession for any one to hold that the personification of all these anti-Christian elements in a particular individual is foretold.

11. As regards the so-called Chiliasm, we agree with our opponents in rejecting every doctrine of a thousand years' reign which would at any time rob the spiritual kingdom of our Lord of its character as a spiritual kingdom of grace and the cross, and convert it into an outward, earthly and worldly kingdom.

12. On the other hand, while we do not as a synod differ from our opponents by accepting any form of chiliasm, the belief, that the reign of Christ and His saints for a thousand years, as prophesied in the 20th chapter of the Revelation of St. John, is still a matter of fulfillment in the future, is regarded by us as an opinion which the Church may tolerate, and not as an error necessitating exclusion from Church-fellowship.

13. Since Missouri, on its part, has retracted the assertion, that each and every form of chiliasm, even the subtle and most subtle, is not only erroneous, but constitutes an error which necessitates exclusion from Church fellowship, and we on our part have, to the satisfaction of our opponents, corrected the expressions to which Missouri objected, particularly with respect to a future-

two-fold coming of Christ, the difference between us on this point is substantially confined to the doctrine of the first resurrection in Rev. 20.

14. Missouri not only most decidedly rejects such an interpretation of this passage as would apply it to a bodily resurrection from the dead, but asserts that any acceptance of a partial resurrection before the general resurrection is in itself a denial of the general resurrection, and therefore a fundamental error, in connection with which a chiliastic opinion which might otherwise be tolerated becomes a schismatical heresy.

15. We, on the contrary, neither desire to deliver any official synodical opinion as to whether this passage must be understood as referring to a bodily or to a spiritual resurrection, nor can we see in the acceptance of a partial resurrection preceding the general resurrection the shadow of a heresy, since in Matt. 27, at least, such a partial previous resurrection is taught beyond the possibility of contradiction or doubt. And finally we can never concede, that an otherwise unobjectionable view of the so-called thousand years' reign can become an heretical error through the interpretation of Rev. 20:4 as a bodily resurrection, provided that no attempt is made to specify how and where this reign of the risen saints shall take place.

16. In the course of our ecclesiastical controversies, the real fundamental difference between Missouri and Iowa has been seen to be the recognition of "open questions," the existence of which has on our part been acknowledged and proved, but which has on the part of Missouri been energetically denied.

17. By this expression, we do not, of course, mean to say, that the respective doctrines are in themselves doubtful or uncertain, nor yet that they may be arbitrarily accepted or rejected, but simply that they are not to be regarded as involving separation from Church-fellowship. In distinction from articles of faith, with respect to which there must exist within an ecclesiastical body perfect unanimity, we have always understood "open questions" to mean such doctrines as might be the subject of difference of views without thereby destroying the brotherhood of faith or ecclesiastical fellowship.

18. Open questions in this sense cannot be such doctrines as are necessary to salvation or to the existence of the Church, but only such as either are not touched upon in God's Word at all, or at least are not taught in perfectly clear passages of Scripture, — doctrines concerning which, therefore, no consensus has been reached in the Church, but with respect to which differences of view have always been found among orthodox teachers. In addition to the points mentioned above, we include among these doctrines that concerning Sunday, i. e., that in the New Testa-

ment the observance of a particular day rests for the Christians in no wise upon a divine command, but only upon an inner necessity.

19. Missouri, on the other hand, regards it as unionism to speak of doctrinal opinions which may be permitted to stand side by side in the Church, and at the colloquium at Milwaukee declared that such a difference could be tolerated only when it referred to points concerning which God's Word contains no statement at all, while in all doctrines drawn from the Scriptures, whether they bear upon faith or life, there must necessarily be only one opinion.

20. Recently, however, Missouri has been obliged, by the course of the controversy on usury in her own midst, to abandon her principle and to adopt ours.

21. The particular declaration of our opponents in which we find this acknowledgment of the principles expressed is the following: "Know then, every one who desires to know, that we know how to distinguish between articles of faith and such doctrines of Scripture as are not articles of faith. We do not, indeed, permit any doctrine of Scripture, whether it appear great or small, to be made an open question; but while we regard it necessary to contend to the uttermost for every article of faith as one on which our faith and hope depend, to condemn the opposing error, and to deny fellowship to those who obstinately contradict, we by no means regard it necessary under all circumstances to go to the utmost extreme in contending for other doctrines of Scripture which are not articles of faith, much less to pass the sentence of condemnation upon the opposing error, though we reject it, nor to deny to those who err on this point the fellowship of faith.

"If in any controversy the question is one concerning doctrines which do not belong to the articles of faith, then for us all depends on whether the opponents show that they gainsay because they do not want to subject themselves to God's Word, that is, whether, while they apparently let the fundamental doctrines of God's Word stand, they overturn the foundation on which all those doctrines rest, namely, God's Word."

II. THE THIRTEEN PROPOSITIONS OF MISSOURI CONCERNING ELECTION.

(§§ 23, 3; 28, 2c; 29, 2.)

Proposition 1.

We believe, teach and confess, that God loved the whole world from eternity, created all men for salvation, and none for damnation, and that He earnestly wills the salvation of all men. And we reject and condemn, therefore, with all our heart, the opposing Calvinistic doctrine.

Proposition 2.

We believe, teach and confess, that the Son of God came into the world for all men, bore and atoned for the sins of all men, and redeemed all men without exception; and we reject and condemn, therefore, with all our heart the opposing Calvinistic doctrine.

Proposition 3.

We believe, teach and confess, that God through the means of grace calls men earnestly, that is, with the purpose that through the call they shall come to repentance and faith, continue in it also to the end, and thus finally obtain salvation; and that to this end God through the means of grace offers to them the salvation acquired by Christ's satisfaction, and the power to apprehend it by faith: and we reject and condemn, therefore, with all our heart, the opposing Calvinistic doctrine.

Proposition 4.

We believe, teach and confess, that no man will be lost because God did not desire to save him and passed him by with His grace, nor because God did not offer to him also the grace of steadfastness or did not desire to bestow it upon him; but that all men who are lost, are lost through their own fault, namely, because of their unbelief, and because they obstinately resist the Word and grace to the end; and that the "cause for this despising of the Word is not God's KNOWLEDGE (vel praescientia vel praedes-tinatio), but the perverse will of man, who rejects or perverts the means and instrument of the Holy Ghost which God offers him through the call, and resists the Holy Ghost who wishes to be efficacious and works through the Word; as Christ says: 'How often would I have gathered * * * and ye would not,' Matt. 23, 37" (Book of Concord, Müller 713, Jacobs 656). We therefore reject and condemn with all our heart the opposing Calvinistic doctrine.

Proposition 5.

We believe, teach and confess, that the SUBJECTS OF ELECTION or predestination are only the truly believing, who TILL THE END OR AT THE END OF THEIR LIFE TRULY BELIEVE; we reject and condemn, therefore, the error of Huber, that election is not particular but general and includes all men.

Proposition 6.

We believe, teach and confess, that the divine decree of election is IMMUTABLE, and that therefore no elect person can become reprobate and be lost, but that every elect person certainly will be saved; and we reject and condemn, therefore, with all our heart the opposing error of Huber.

Proposition 7.

We believe, teach and confess, that it is foolish and perilous to the soul and leads either to carnal security or to despair, to SEEK BY MEANS OF INQUIRY INTO THE ETERNAL DIVINE SECRET DECREE to acquire a certain persuasion of our election or of our final salvation; and we reject and condemn with all our heart the opposing doctrine as a pernicious fanaticism.

Proposition 8.

We believe, teach and confess, that a believing Christian should seek through God's revealed will to become certain of his election; and we reject and condemn, therefore, with all our heart the opposing papal error, that we can become certain of our election or salvation only through a new immediate revelation.

Proposition 9.

We believe, teach and confess: 1. That election does NOT consist simply IN THE FACT THAT GOD FOREKNEW who would be saved; 2. that election, further, is NOT SIMPLY THE DETERMINATION of God to redeem and save men, and therefore A GENERAL ELECTION, including all men; 3. that election does not include those WHO BELIEVE ONLY FOR A WHILE (Luke 8:13); 4. that election is NOT SIMPLY A DECREE of God THAT ALL THOSE WHO BELIEVE to the end shall be saved; we reject and condemn, therefore, with all our heart the opposing errors of Rationalists, Huberists and Arminians.

Proposition 10.

We believe, teach and confess that the CAUSE which moved God to choose the elect is solely His grace and the merit of Jesus Christ, and NOT SOME GOOD which God foresaw in the elect, NOT EVEN THE FAITH which God foresaw in them; and we reject and condemn, therefore, the opposing doctrines of Pelagians, semi-

pelagians and synergists as blasphemous, dreadful errors, which overturn the Gospel and with it the entire Christian religion.

Proposition 11.

We believe, teach and confess that election is not simply the divine prescience or foreknowledge of the salvation of the elect, but that it is also a CAUSE of their salvation and of all that belongs to it; and we reject and condemn, therefore, with all our heart the opposing doctrines of the Arminians, Socinians and all synergists.

Proposition 12.

We believe, teach and confess, that with respect to the mystery of election God has "still kept much untold and hidden, and reserved solely for his own wisdom and knowledge," which no man can or should search out; and we condemn, therefore, the attempt to search out these things which have not been revealed, and to harmonize with our reason what appears to contradict our reason, whether this be done by Calvinistic or by Pelagian-synergistic human doctrines.

Proposition 13.

We believe, teach and confess, that it is not only not useless and still less dangerous, but necessary and salutary to proclaim publicly to the Christian people the mysterious doctrine of election, in so far as it is clearly revealed in God's Word; and we do not agree with those, therefore, who think that this doctrine is one concerning which we should keep silence or which we should discuss only among the learned.

III. THESES ON ELECTION.

(§§23, 3: 28, 2c. 29, 2).

BY DR. GOTTFRIED FRITSCHEL.

1. The true scriptural Lutheran doctrine of the conversion of man to God excludes both the error of synergism and that of predestinationism. And one error is as pernicious and perilous to souls as the other.

2. The doctrine of synergism,—that conversion is not produced by divine grace alone, but that man on his part can contribute something toward his conversion through his own natural powers, that he can with his somewhat weakened natural powers through the incitement of the Holy Spirit to some extent

consent to grace, fight against his own weakness, apprehend and appropriate salvation,—injures the deepest foundations of evangelical doctrine, and offends against the unanimous teaching of Holy Scripture.

3. That in the conversion of man there is an activity of the will, a consenting, a living voluntary apprehension of salvation is, of course, undeniable; but it is a grave error to ascribe this in whole or in part to the natural powers, since it is ENTIRELY God's grace alone which makes man, who is dead in sin, alive, and works in him both to will and to do. Faith is entirely a work of the Holy Spirit.

4. As it is a fatal injury to the evangelical faith to ascribe to the natural powers of man the ability to believe or to apprehend the salvation of God, so it is no less a fatal injury to it to conceive of conversion as a change which takes place by violence and compulsion, instead of as a moral change which takes place in the will of man.

5. It is a fundamentally false doctrine, which totally destroys the ethical character of conversion and thoroughly poisons the entire conception of Christian truth, to teach that God converts those whom He has elected to salvation, EVEN IF THEY EVER SO WILFULLY RESIST. This doctrine of a "gratia irresistibilis" contains in it the germ of the entire doctrine of absolute predestination, whether all the logical consequences of that irresistibility are drawn or whether some are left unexpressed.

6. In conversion, the will of man is inwardly formed anew through creative renewing grace, but in such a manner as leaves man able to resist the mighty operations of grace, and by his own voluntary resistance to frustrate and destroy the earnest, urgent operations of God's grace. Thus grace does in man all that belongs to his salvation, ABOVE ALL HIS ACCEPTANCE OF GRACE, the voluntary apprehension ITSELF, yet not in a compulsory manner, but in the form of freedom. *Deus hominem liberrime convertit* (Hollandius et al.).

7. Thus the eternal destiny of man does not depend only upon the unconditioned decree of an irresistible electing grace, which takes no manner of account of the different attitude of men; but the different attitude of men towards the proffered grace is taken into account.

8. The doctrine of absolute predestination is the doctrine that God absolutely, arbitrarily, i. e., without taking into account any difference in the attitude of men, determined solely according to His good pleasure to predestinate a number of men to eternal life, and left others to perish, although He might just as easily have saved them also.

9. To teach that God, if He desired, might JUST AS EASILY take away death and resistance from the millions of men who perish as from the elect, is absolute predestination.

10. To teach that Rom. 9 speaks not only of a predestination to a temporal position on earth, in order to make void all pretensions on man's part, but speaks of a predestination to salvation and damnation, without any regard to the different attitude of men, is absolute predestination.

11. Where it is regarded as an error punishable with churchly discipline, to teach that faith is to be recognized as an element included in the decree of election, there absolute predestination rules.

12. Where it is asserted that it is Pelagianism to teach with the old dogmaticians that the election of the individual persons took place in view of the merit of Christ apprehended by faith, and where it is urged against this teaching that "there are no conditions with God," there there is absolute predestination.

13. To teach that just as the sun melts the snow where it shines, while the snow remains unmelted where the sunshine does not fall, so death and resistance are removed from the heart when God's grace is directed upon man, is absolute predestination.

14. To teach that from those whom God has elected even the most wilful resistance is removed, is absolute predestination.

15. To teach that election taken in its narrowest and most exact sense determines who will believe and who will not believe, is absolute predestination.

16. To teach that a certain measure of grace is, indeed, imparted to all who hear the Gospel, but that this grace is not sufficient for the attainment of salvation and that the SPECIAL grace of election which ALONE IS REALLY SUFFICIENT for the attainment of salvation is given only to a certain number of men whom God has chosen for that purpose and whom He then infallibly saves, is absolute predestination.

17. The word predestination in the language of the Church's teachers is not always used in the same sense, but sometimes in a narrower, and again in a wider sense. In the wider sense it includes God's whole plan for man's salvation. It is thus used, for example, in the Formula of Concord. If the word predestination is taken in this wider concrete sense, then it not only can but must be said that faith is not the cause but the fruit and consequence of election.

If, on the other hand, the word predestination is taken in its proper and narrow sense, simply as the ordaining of a definite number of men to eternal life, and if it is taught THAT FAITH DOES NOT FLOW FROM THE UNIVERSAL GRACE WHICH IS OFFERED TO

ALL MEN IN THE WORD AND SACRAMENTS, but from the special electing grace intended for only a small number of men and bestowed only upon them, then in the proposition "faith is the result of election" there lies absolute predestination.

18. If the REASON, why in the case of two men who equally hear the Gospel one comes to faith and the other does not, is SOUGHT SOLELY IN THE SECRET UNFATHOMABLE WILL OF GOD, who in His sovereign power does what He pleases, while at the same time all reference to the different attitude of men toward God's grace is studiously AVOIDED, and the Lutheran teaching of a distinction between wilful and natural resistance is studiously IGNORED—then this is nothing else but absolute predestination.

19. If the DIFFERENCE between the Lutheran and the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination is defined, not by pointing on the one hand to the particularistic absolute character of the Calvinistic doctrine which ignores all differences in the attitude of men, and on the other hand, to the Lutheran doctrine of a two-fold resistance; but by pointing out that the Calvinistic doctrine ANSWERS the question "why one person comes to faith, and the other does not," while the Lutheran doctrine REPELS the question,—then the Lutheran doctrine becomes ESSENTIALLY IDENTICAL WITH the Calvinistic, and is an absolute predestination: for the latter definition of a pretended Lutheran doctrine is in reality AN EXACT DEFINITION OF THE AUGUSTINIAN DOCTRINE of predestination.

20. When it is taught, that God has elected a definite number of persons, who IN CONSEQUENCE of their election come to faith and will and MUST be saved; that only these elect ones receive the SPECIAL ELECTING GRACE which alone is sufficient for salvation; that these are brought to faith even if they resist EVER SO WILFULLY; that God, if He would, COULD JUST AS EASILY bestow faith and salvation on the others also; and when the reason why some are lost is sought, NOT IN THE WILFUL RESISTANCE of man which frustrates the earnest, universal, benevolent will of God, but IN THE LACK OF THE GRACIOUS WILL on God's part to save these as well as the others,—then the inevitable conclusion is THAT THE BENEVOLENT WILL of God toward the lost IS NOT AS EARNEST as toward the saved, and is indeed NOT EARNESTLY MEANT.

And as a further consequence, the doctrines of the all-embracing MERIT OF CHRIST, and of the SAVING OPERATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT upon all men through the means of grace, must fall. From the particularistic doctrine of Calvin concerning predestination there follow of necessity the conclusions of Calvin with respect to the doctrines of the work of Christ and of the work of the Holy Ghost through the means of grace.

21. The doctrine of absolute predestination, if consciously held, must poison the whole evangelical doctrine of salvation and overturn the entire Scriptural conception of Christianity; and from this point the Lutheran Church of America is threatened with a formidable danger.

4. STATISTICS.*

a) LUTHERAN SYNODS IN AMERICA.

No.	Name.	Organized.	Ministers.	Congregations	Communicant members	Parochial Schools,	Teachers.	Benevolent Contributions, Missions, etc.
GENERAL SYNOD—1820.								
6	Maryland Synod ..	1820	102	138	24,935	.....	.....	\$38,972 13
8	West Pennsylvania Synod	1825	99	152	27,882	.....	.....	50,804 98
10	Hartwick Synod (New York)	1830	37	36	5,844	.....	.....	8,043 49
11	East Ohio Synod ..	1836	46	71	7,756	.....	.....	9,705 61
12	Franckean Synod (New York)	1837	22	26	2,081	.....	.....	2,585 18
13	Allegheny Synod (Pennsylvania) ..	1842	69	151	16,047	.....	.....	22,008 56
14	East Pennsylvania Synod	1842	123	124	25,226	.....	.....	37,200 70
16	Miamis Synod (Ohio)	1844	40	54	6,660	.....	.....	10,937 93
21	Wittenberg Synod (Ohio)	1847	48	78	9,841	.....	.....	9,724 37
22	Olive Branch (Ind., Ky., and Tenn.)	1848	37	46	4,921	.....	.....	8,207 83
24	Northern Illinois Synod	1851	41	43	4,043	.....	.....	8,207 83
28	Central Pennsylvania Synod	1855	37	86	9,389	.....	.....	11,427 83
29	Iowa Synod	1855	24	27	2,158	.....	.....	3,629 84
30	Northern Indiana Synod	1855	45	74	4,416	.....	.....	5,297 78
39	Pittsburg Synod (Second)	1866	84	109	13,356	.....	.....	19,754 35
40	Susquehanna Synod (Pennsylvania)	1867	55	83	12,637	.....	.....	19,943 21
41	Kansas Synod	1868	55	47	3,296	.....	.....	4,552 91
42	Nebraska Synod	1871	43	35	2,481	.....	.....	4,394 08
45	New York and New Jersey Synod	1872	69	60	11,281	.....	.....	12,168 15
46	Wartburg Synod, German	1876	42	53	6,817	544	3	3,928 66
52	California Synod	1891	18	13	1,516	.....	.....	2,769 94
53	Rocky Mountain Synod	1891	10	8	541	.....	.....	1,296 74
54	Nebraska Synod, German	1891	62	73	5,600	566	.....	5,130 55
60	Central and Southern Illinois Syn'd	1897	22	28	2,988	.....	.....	2,919 45
63	Southern Illinois Synod	1901	10	20	1,097	.....	.....	963 42
		Total	1,240	1,635	213,109	11,110	3	\$310,050 67
GENERAL COUNCIL—1867.								
1	Ministerium o f Pennsylvania	1748	356	576	129,893	9	18	\$91,761 24
2	Ministerium o f New York	1773	177	143	50,000	23	34	27,500 00

*These statistics are by Prof. S. E. Ochensford, D. D.

GENERAL COUNCIL—Concluded.

No.	Name.	Organized.	Ministers.	Congregations.	Communicant members.	Parochial Schools.	Teachers.	Benevolent Contributions, Missions, etc.
17	Pittsburg Synod ..	1845	133	177	27,066	.....	.....	42,080 22
32	District Synod of Ohio	1857	43	76	11,995	.....	.....	9,837 82
33	Augustana Synod..	1860	501	956	131,999	409	529	139,357 48
38	Canada Synod ..	1861	38	75	10,023	35	18	5,169 29
43	Chicago Synod ..	1871	36	51	4,669	1	1	4,740 43
55	English Synod of the Northwest....	1891	17	21	3,034	.....	.....	2,080 81
57	Manitoba Synod ..	1897	15	60	3,600	12	11	300 00
61	Pacific Synod ..	1901	13	16	863	3	.....	256 00
63	New York and New England Synod	1902	36	38	10,536	.....	.....	7,700 00
65	Nova Scotia Synod	1903	6	24	2,454	.....	.....	1,142 73
	Total		1,371	2,213	386,132	492	641	\$324,226 03

SYNODICAL CONFERENCE—1872.

20	Missouri, Ohio and other States	1847	1,912	2,427	442,831	1,996	897	\$312,834 22
	Joint Germ. Synod	1897	320	482	83,459	326	164	51,469 97
	23 Wisconsin	1852	223	350	60,000	241	141	.....
	35 Minnesota	1860	82	117	20,000	68	17	.....
	36 Michigan	1860	15	15	3,450	17	6	1,469 97
49	English Synod of Missouri	1888	56	46	5,000	12	5	6,000 00
	Total		2,288	2,955	531,390	3,334	1,066	\$370,334 19

UNITED SYNOD, SOUTH—1886.

3	North Carolina Synod	1803	34	62	8,218	.....	.....	\$4,098 65
5	Tennessee Synod	1820	44	111	9,452	.....	.....	3,360 08
7	South Carolina Synod	1824	43	71	9,503	.....	.....	7,976 79
9	Virginia Synod	1829	34	66	6,588	.....	.....	1,106 40
15	Synod of S. W. Virginia	1842	32	61	3,974	.....	.....	295 60
31	Mississippi Synod	1855	7	14	700	.....	.....	.....
34	Georgia Synod	1860	12	21	2,475	.....	.....	2,314 22
37	Holston (Tenn.) Synod	1861	7	23	1,500	.....	.....	421 51
	Total		213	429	42,410	.....	.....	\$19,573 25

INDEPENDENT SYNODS.

4	Joint Synod of Ohio	1818	490	620	87,314	219	102	\$61,650 00
18	Buffalo Synod	1845	27	40	5,250	24	7	1,829 43
19	Hauge's Norwegian Synod	1846	108	276	19,000	.....	223	25,000 00
25	Texas Synod	1851	15	25	2,500	.....	.....	715 60
26	Norwegian Synod	1853	280	900	76,158	300	328	110,000 00
27	Germ. Iowa Synod	1854	464	832	57,801	432	42	252,341 51
44	Danish Lutheran Church in America	1872	52	130	6,241	.....	.....	4,073 54
47	Synod of Icelanders	1885	8	36	6,122	.....	.....	500 00

INDEPENDENT SYNODS — Concluded.

No.	Name.	Organized.	Ministers.	Congregations.	Communicant members.	Parochial Schools.	Teachers.	Benevolent Contributions, Missions, etc.
48	Immanuel Synod, German	1886	15	13	5,000	.....	.....	.....
50	S u o m i (F i n- nish) Synod.....	1889	11	53	9,000	13	15	.....
51	United Norwegian Church	1890	377	1,221	139,127	.....	717	139,980 12
56	United Danish Ev. Luth. Church in America	1896	93	147	8,034	75	.....	9,056 83
58	Synod of Michigan and Other States.....	1897	37	56	5,750	35	6	2,500 00
59	Luth. Free Church, Norwegian	1893	120	420	34,000	300	200	63,065 00
64	Slovak S y n o d of Pennsylvania Without Synodical Connection	1902	11	20	.....	.....	.....	.....
			70	200	25,000	.....	.....	.....
	Total	2,178	4,989	516,347	1,398	1,640		\$680,711 43
	Grand total.....	7,290	12,221	1,689,385	5,244	3,350		\$1,684,896 56

b) PERIODICALS.

I. GERMAN.

Name.	Synod.	Address.
Der Lutheraner	Missouri Synod	St. Louis, Mo.
Die Lutherische Kirchenzeitung	Ohio Synod	Columbus, Ohio. 55 East Main St.
Ev. Luth. Gemeindeblatt.	Wisconsin Synod	Milwaukee, Wis. 347 Third St.
Die Wachende Kirche....	Buffalo Synod	Buffalo, N. Y. 134 Goodell St.
Der Luth. Herold.....	General Council	Van Nest, New York, N. Y.
Luth. Kirchenblatt	General Council	Philadelphia, Pa. 726 North 7th St.
Das Kirchenblatt	Iowa Synod	Chicago, Ill. 84 Wabash Ave.
Der Synodal-Freund.....	Michigan Synod	West Bay City, Mich.
Luth. Zions-Bote	General Synod	Burlington, Ia. 412 South Central Ave.
Lehre und Wehre.....	Missouri Synod.....	St. Louis, Mo.
Ev. Luth. Schulzeitung..	Synodical Conference	Milwaukee, Wis.
Theologische Zeitblaetter.	Ohio Synod	Columbus, Ohio.
Kirchliche Zeitschrift ...	Iowa Synod	Chicago, Ill. 84 Wabash Ave.

2. ENGLISH.

Lutheran Observer	General Synod	Philadelphia, Pa. 1323 Real Estate Trust.
The Lutheran	General Council	Philadelphia, Pa. 1522 Arch St.
The Lutheran Evangelist.	General Synod	Dayton, Ohio. 114 East Fourth St.
The Lutheran Visitor....	United Synod of the South	Newberry, S. C.
The Lutheran Standard..	Ohio Synod	Columbus, Ohio. 55 East Main St.
The Lutheran World....	General Synod	Springfield, Ohio.
The Lutheran Witness...	English Synod of Missouri	Pittsburgh, Pa. 1349 Fifth.
Augustana Journal	Augustana Synod	Rock Island, Ill.
Luther League Review...	Intersynodical	New York, N. Y. P. O. Box 876.
Young Folks	General Council	Philadelphia, Pa. 1522 Arch St.
Lutheran Young People..	General Synod	Philadelphia, Pa. 1424 Arch St.
Theological Magazine	Ohio Synod	Columbus, Ohio. 55 East Main St.
The Theological Monthly	Missouri Synod	St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Pub. House.
The Lutheran Quarterly.	General Synod	Gettysburg, Pa.
The Lutheran Church Review	General Council	Philadelphia, Pa. 1522 Arch St.
Theological Quarterly ...	Missouri Synod	St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Pub. House.
Augustana Theological Quarterly (Swedish-English)	Augustana Synod ...	Rock Island, Ill.
Statistical Year-book of the Lutheran Church of America	General Council	Philadelphia, Pa. 1522 Arch St.

3. OTHER LANGUAGES.

Name.	Synod.	Address.
<i>Norwegian</i> —		
Børneblad	Norwegian Synod ...	Decorah, Ia.
Budbaeren	Hauge's Norwegian Synod	Red Wing, Minn. Wittenberg, Wisc. Minneapolis, Minn.
Gammel og Ung.....	United Norw. Church	
Lutheraneren	Norw. Free Church..	
<i>Swedish</i> —		
Barnens Tidning.....	Augustana Synod	Rock Island, Ill.
Fosterlandet	Independent	Chicago, Ill.
<i>Danish</i> —		
Dansk Luthersk Kir- keblad	United Danish Ev. Luth. Church in America	Blair, Neb.
Dannevirke	United Danish Ev. Luth. Church in America	Cedar Falls, Ia.
Kirkebladet	United Danish Ev. Luth. Church in America	Chicago, Ill.
<i>Icelandic</i> —		
Sameiningen	Icelandic Synod	Winnipeg, Manitoba, Can.
<i>Finnish</i> —		
Paimen Sanomia	Suomi Synod	Hancock, Mich.
<i>Slovak</i> —		
Amerikanske Evan- jelik	Slovak Synod of Pennsylvania	Braddock, Pa.
<i>Lettish</i> —		
Amerikas Westnesis..	Organ of the Lithua- nian Congs. of America	Boston, Mass.
<i>Esthonian</i> —		
Amerika Festi Pos- timees	Independent	New York, N. Y.
<i>French</i> —		
Journal Lutherein ...	Independent	Dexter, Ia.

The numbers prefixed to names on the following pages indicate the synods to which the respective institutions belong. Those marked with * belong to the General Synod; those with ** to the United Synod of the South; and those with § to the General Council.

c) THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

Synod.	Name.	Founded.	Location.	President.	Professors.	Students.
53 Augsburg (Norwegian) Theol. Dept.....	1869	Minneapolis, Minn.	Prof. George Sverdrup	3	43	
33 Augustana (Swedish) Seminary.....	1860	Rock Island, Ill.	Prof. Gustav A. Andreen, Ph. D.	3	77	
8 Chicago Theological Seminary.....	1891	Chicago, Ill.	Rev. R. F. Weidner, D. D., LL. D.	6	41	
29 Concordia (Practical) Seminary.....	1846	Springfield, Ill.	Rev. R. Pieper, D. D.	5	181	
20 Concordia Seminary.....	1839	St. Louis, Mo.	Rev. E. Pieper, D. D.	6	183	
58 German Evangelical Lutheran.....	1866	Saginaw City, Mich.	Rev. F. Beer,	4	21	
1 Capital University.....	1830	Columbus, Ohio	Rev. F. W. Stellhorn, D. D.	4	24	
1 Gettysburg.....	1826	Gettysburg, Pa.	Rev. J. W. Singmaster, D. D.	5	57	
1 Hartwick.....	1797	Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.	Rev. A. Hiller, D. D.	2	14	
4 Lather Seminary, German.....	1885	St. Paul, Minn.	Rev. H. Ernst, D. D.	3	20	
26 Luther Seminary, Norwegian.....	1875	Iowa City, Iowa.	Rev. H. G. Steub, D. D.	5	62	
18 Martin Luther.....	1854	Buffalo, N. Y.	Rev. Wm. Grabau, D. D.	2	12	
1 Philadelphia.....	1864	Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.	Rev. E. Jacobs, D. D., LL. D.	6	50	
19 Red Wing, Theol. Department.....	1879	Red Wing, Minn.	Rev. M. G. Hanson, D. D.	3	20	
42 Southern.....	1830	Mt. Pleasant, S. C.	Rev. A. G. Voigt, D. D.	4	12	
4 Susquehanna University Theol. Dept.....	1858	Selinsgrove, Pa.	Rev. L. R. Dinn, D. D., Dean.	3	17	
5 Theol. Dept. Lenoir College.....	1891	Hickory, N. C.	Rev. R. L. Fritz, A. M.	1	14	
36 Trinity.....	1880	Blair, Neb.	Rev. P. S. Vig,	4	11	
51 United Church, Norwegian.....	1890	St. Paul, Minn.	Rev. M. O. Boeckmann, D. D.	4	48	
27 Warburg.....	1854	Dubuque, Iowa.	Rev. W. Proehl, D. D.	4	40	
* Western Theological Seminary.....	1865	Atchison, Kan.	Rev. E. D. Altman, D. D.	3	22	
* Wisconsin Synod Seminary.....	1863	Wauwatosa, Wis.	Rev. A. Woenecke, D. D.	3	38	
Wittenberg.....	1845	Springfield, Ohio	Rev. S. A. Ort, D. D., LL. D., Dean.	4	24	
Total, 22.					87	1,021

Appendix.

d) COLLEGES.

POB N.Y.	Name.	Founded	Location.	President.		Professors.	Students.
				President.	Prof.		
36	Angar College	1902	Hutchinson, Minn.	Harold W. Foght, A. M.	13	247	
44	Ashland College	1882	Ashland, Mich.	Prof. J. C. Bay	3	137	
50	Augsburg, Norwegian	1869	Minneapolis, Minn.	Prof. George Sverdrup	9	5	
31	Augustana, Norwegian	1860	Canton, South Dakota	Rev. A. G. Tuve	5	659	
33	Augustana, Swedish	1860	Rock Island, Ill.	Prof. Gustav N. Andreen, Ph. D.	45	878	
33	Bethany	1880	Lindsborg, Kan.	Rev. E. E. Philiblads	42		
36	Blair	1890	Blair, Neb.	Rev. Chr. Anker	8	96	
4	Capital University	1850	Columbus, Ohio	Rev. L. H. Schuh, Ph. D.	9	101	
*	Carthage	1870	Carthage, Ill.	Rev. F. S. Sigmarud, D. D.	16	202	
26	Clifton	1897	Clifton, Texas	Prof. B. K. Saure	3	42	
20	Concordia	1830	Fort Wayne, Ind.	Rev. Martin Luecke	7	154	
20	Concordia	1881	Milwaukee, Wis.	Rev. M. J. F. Albrecht	9	229	
20	Concordia	1864	Springfield, Ill.	Rev. R. Pieper	5	184	
49	Concordia	1881	Conover, Catawba Co., N. C.	Rev. G. A. Romoser	4	88	
51	Concordia	1891	Moorehead, Minn.	Prof. Asmus Bogstad	10	222	
20	Concordia	1893	St. Paul, Minn.	Rev. Th. Bunger	4	80	
20	Concordia	1881	Hawthorne (Neperan), N. Y.	Rev. H. Feth	3	47	
27	Evangelical Lutheran	1891	Brenham, Texas	Rev. F. Romberg	5	71	
26	Grand Forks	1900	Grand Forks, North Dakota	Prof. K. A. Kasherg	6	190	
44	Grand View	1895	Des Moines, Iowa	Rev. R. R. Vestergaard	5	78	
33	Gustavus Adolphus	1862	St. Peter, Minn.	Rev. B. Th. Nordentoft	23	257	
37	Holston Synodical College	1897	Mosheim, Tenn.	Rev. J. B. Greicer, A. M.	6	160	
19	Jewell	1893	Jewell, Iowa	Rev. N. J. Loehre	11	163	
5	Lenoir	1891	Hickory, N. C.	Rev. R. L. Fritz, A. M.	10	243	
4	Lima	1893	Lima, Ohio	Rev. C. H. Eckhardt	10	275	
26	Luther, Norwegian	1861	Decorah, Iowa	Rev. C. K. Preus	10	180	
35	Martin Luther	1884	New Ulm, Minn.	Rev. J. Schaller	6	54	
*	Midland	1887	Atchison, Kan.	Rev. M. F. Troxell, D. D.	15	160	
1	Muhlenberg	1867	Allentown, Pa.	Rev. J. A. W. Haas, D. D.	12	139	
7	Newberry	1856	Newberry, S. C.	Prof. Geo. B. Cromer, LL. D.	8	164	
3	North Carolina	1854	Mt. Pleasant, N. C.	Rev. A. F. Ernst	6	102	
23	Northwestern University	1864	Watertown, Wis.	Rev. A. F. Ernst	10	144	

d) COLLEGES -- Concluded.

Year founded	Name	Founded	Location	President.		Students.
				Professors.	Students.	
33	Northwestern Park Region	1800	Fergus Falls, Minn.	Prof. A. C. Youngdahl.....	9	137
26	Pennsylvania	1802	Fergus Falls, Minn.	Rev. O. N. Fosmark.....	5	175
* 4	Pleasant View	1802	Gettysburg, Pa.	Prof. L. G. Hefelbower.....	15	265
19	Red Wing	1806	Ottawa, Ill.	Rev. L. A. Vigness.....	7	132
* 9	Roanoke	1809	Red Wing, Minn.	Rev. M. G. Hanson.....	7	150
49	St. John's	1833	Salem, Va.	Rev. Jas. A. Moorehead, D. D.....	10	152
51	St. Olaf, Norwegian	1803	Winfield, Kan.	Rev. A. W. Meyer.....	8	85
20	St. Paul	1874	Northfield, Minn.	Rev. T. N. Kildahl.....	17	209
50	Suomi College and Seminary	1884	Concordia, Mo.	Rev. J. H. C. Kaepel.....	5	112
* 4	Susquehanna University	1806	Hancock, Mich.	Rev. J. K. Nikander.....	10	109
17	Thiel	1818	Selinsgrove, Pa.	Rev. G. W. Enders, D. D.....	22	218
33	Upsala	1870	Greensburg, Pa.	Rev. I. C. Kunzman, D. D.....	11	150
2	Wagner Memorial	1803	New Orange, N. J.	Rev. L. H. Beck, Ph. D.....	6	50
20	Walther	1883	Rochester, N. Y.	Rev. H. D. Kraeling.....	5	38
27	Warburg	1809	St. Louis, Mo.	Prof. A. C. Burgdorf.....	5	90
* 7	Wittenberg	1868	Clinton, Ia.	Rev. O. Kraushaar.....	8	75
* Watt's Memorial	1845	Springfield, Ohio	Rev. Chas. G. Heckert, D. D.....	24	297	
1873	Guntur, India	1873	Rev. L. B. Wolf, D. D.....	43	675	
			Total, 50.			557
						9,114

e) ACADEMIES.

Name.	Founded.	Location.	President.		Students.
			Professors.	President.	
31 Betheden Collegiate Institute.....	1878	Betheden, Miss.	Rev. L. P. Boland.....	Rev. L. P. Boland.....	273
26 Bruffat Academy.....	1888	Portland, Franklin Co., N. Dako... Tylor, Lincoln Co., Minn.	Prof. K. M. Jagsted..... Rev. A. Bohjær.....	Rev. K. M. Jagsted..... Rev. A. Bohjær.....	382
44 "Danebod" High School.....	1888	Colbourn, Ind.	Prof. G. M. Moser.....	Prof. G. M. Moser.....	428
43 Colbourn Academy	1900	Elkhorn, Ia.	.....	.....	250
36 Elkhorn Academy	1878	Greensburg, Pa.	Prof. J. C. Hoch, Ph. D.....	Prof. J. C. Hoch, Ph. D.....	5
17 Greenburgh Seminary	1874	Allbion, Wis.	Rev. D. G. Ristad.....	Rev. D. G. Ristad.....	220
H. A. Preus Lutheran Academy.....	1901	Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.	Rev. J. C. Traver, D. D.	Rev. J. C. Traver, D. D.	6
* Hartwick Seminary	1797	Rural Retreat, Va.	Rev. J. F. Kiser.....	Rev. J. F. Kiser.....	114
15 Hawkins Chapel Institute	1891	Wittenberg, Wis.	Rev. A. Jacobsen.....	Rev. A. Jacobsen.....	8
31 Indian Mission School	1884	Wahoo, Neb.	Rev. O. J. Johnson.....	Rev. O. J. Johnson.....	62
33 Luther Academy	1883	Albert Lea, Minn.	Rev. M. L. Ullensvang, B. S.....	Rev. M. L. Ullensvang, B. S.....	52
26 Luther Normal School, Nor.	1888	Saint Paul, Minn.	Prof. A. Mikkelson.....	Prof. A. Mikkelson.....	128
36 Luther Seminary, German	1888	Sioux Falls, South Dakora.	Rev. H. Ernst, D. D.	Rev. H. Ernst, D. D.	9
4 Luther Seminary, German	1884	St. Paul, Minn.	Rev. H. Lockengaard.....	Rev. H. Lockengaard.....	130
51 Mt. Horeb Academy	1892	Mt. Horeb, Wis.	Prof. A. G. Bioernby.....	Prof. A. G. Bioernby.....	100
51 Mt. Horeb Academy	1893	Nysted, Neb.	Rev. C. J. Skovgaard.....	Rev. C. J. Skovgaard.....	140
44 Nysted High School	1887	Parkland, Wash.	Rev. N. T. Hong.....	Rev. N. T. Hong.....	6
26 Pacific Lutheran Academy	1890	New Ulm, Minn.	Rev. J. Schaller.....	Rev. J. Schaller.....	27
35 Parochial Teachers' Seminary.....	1893	Henry, N. C.	Rev. J. C. Wessinger.....	Rev. J. C. Wessinger.....	63
35 Ridge Academy	1894	St. Ansgar, Ia.	Rev. J. P. Tandberg.....	Rev. J. P. Tandberg.....	2
51 St. Ansgar Seminary and Institut...	1878	Hickory, N. C.	Prof. S. M. Hamrick.....	Prof. S. M. Hamrick.....	90
4 St. Paul's Academy	1899	Hickory, N. C.	Rev. M. Hunt.....	Rev. M. Hunt.....	2
51 St. Paul's Preparatory	1893	Scandinavia, Wis.	Prof. E. C. Nelson.....	Prof. E. C. Nelson.....	40
51 Scandinavian Academy	1893	.....	.....	.....	2
20 School Teachers' Seminary	1864	Addison, Dunage Co., Ill.	Rev. E. A. W. Krauss.....	Rev. E. A. W. Krauss.....	88
20 School Teachers' Seminary	1894	Seward, Neb.	Rev. George Weller.....	Rev. George Weller.....	203
4 Teachers' Seminary	1883	Woodville, Sandusky Co., Ohio.	Rev. E. Gerfen	Rev. E. Gerfen	3
27 Warburg Teachers' Seminary	1879	Waverly, Iowa	Prof. F. Lutz.....	Prof. F. Lutz.....	4
.... Whitsell Institute	1881	Whitsett, N. C.	Prof. W. T. Whitsett, Ph. D.....	Prof. W. T. Whitsett, Ph. D.....	69
.... Whitsell Institute	1881	.....	.....	.....	9

e) ACADEMIES—Concluded.

Name.	Founded.	Location.	President.	Professors.	Students.
Willmar Seminary	1882	Willmar, Minn.	Rev. Henry Solum.....	8	295
Wittenberg Academy	1890	Wittenberg, Wis.	Rev. Prof. E. J. Anstad.....	3	35
Wittenberg Academy	1901	Wittenberg, Wis.	(7)	42	
Total, 32.				146	2,906

f) LADIES' COLLEGES AND SEMINARIES.

Name.	Founded.	Location.	President.	Professors.	Students.
Brunswick Seminary	1890	Brunswick, Md.	Prof. L. J. Shenk.....	5	171
Cotta College	1897	Lancaster, Pa.	Prof. Wm. W. Moore, A. M.....	8	32
Elizabeth College	1897	Charlotte, N. C.	Rev. Chas B. King, A. M.....	18	119
Gaston College	1899	Dallas, N. C.	Prof. S. A. Wolff, A. M.....	8	140
Girls' School, Drexel Home	1890	Philadelphia, Pa.	Rev. C. Goedel.....	10	57
* Irving College	1896	Mechanicsburg, Pa.	Prof. E. E. Campbell, Ph. D.....	17	115
* Maryland College	1883	Lutherville, Md.	Rev. F. H. Turner, D. D.....	12	90
* Marion College	1874	Marion, Va.	Rev. J. I. Scherer, D. D.....	9	80
* Mount Moana Seminary	1889	Mt. Pleasant, N. C.	Rev. J. H. C. Fisher.....	8	92
Red Wing Lutheran Seminary	1894	Red Wing, Minn.	Rev. H. Allen, M. D.....	15	147
Tahoma Park Seminary	1899	Washington, D. C.	Rev. C. L. Keedy, M. D.....	7	(7)
Total, II.				117	1,043

g) ORPHANS' HOMES.

Syndicate.	Name.	Founded.	Location.	Superintendent.	Inmates.
49	Augsburg	1893	744-6 W. Lexington Av., Baltimore, Md.	Mrs. Aug. Vogt	23
65	Bethany	1902	Bridgewater, N. J.	Rev. C. B. Lintwed	(7)
56	Bethany	1896	Waupaca, Wis.	Mrs. C. Peterson	27
19	Bethesda	1896	Beresford, S. Dak.	Rev. H. L. Moe	45
20	Bethlehem	1851	New Orleans, La.	Mr. H. L. Huetmann	68
20	Bethlehem	1887	College Point, L. I., N. Y.	Mr. H. Schwolert	98
20	Child Jesus	1863	Des Peres, St. Louis Co., Mo.	Mr. R. W. Albrecht	105
20	Children's Home	1807	338-26th St., Milwaukee, Wis.	Mrs. Leich	42
4	Children's Mission Home	1890	918 State St., Knoxville, Tenn.	Rev. J. R. Lauritzen	45
20	Concordia	1888	Delano (Denny), Butler Co., Pa.	Mr. H. W. Lensner	80
44	Danish	1884	1183 Maplewood Ave., Chicago, Ill.	Rev. P. E. Eriksen	32
56	Elm	1892	Elk Horn, Shelly Co., Iowa	N. P. Christensen	24
..	Emmaus	1806	Middletown, Dauphin Co., Pa.	Rev. W. A. Croll	25
1	Evangelical Lutheran	1859	6350 Germantown Ave., Phila., Pa.	Mrs. G. C. Eisenhardt	102
20	Evangelical Lutheran	1882	3310 E. Wash. St., Indianapolis, Ind.	Mr. W. Jaeger	40
1	Evangelical Lutheran	1806	Topton, Berks Co., Pa.	Rev. L. H. Kaker	62
27	German and English	1863	Waverly, Ia.	Rev. F. A. Schaffnit	70
20	German Lutheran	1873	Addison, Du Page Co., Ill.	Rev. H. Merz	107
27	German Lutheran	1860	Toledo, East Side, Ohio.	Rev. F. Schmetz	75
33	Gustavus Adolphus	1883	Jamestown, N. Y.	Mr. J. S. Swensson	63
17	Home and Farm School	1852	Zelienople, Butler Co., Pa.	Rev. J. A. Kribbs	77
51	Homme's Orphans' Home	1882	Wittenberg, Shawano Co., Wis. ....	.....	58
33	Immanuel	1901	Omaha, Neb.	Rev. E. A. Fogelstrom	12
51	Lake Park	1895	Lake Park, Minn.	Mr. C. T. Strand	67
Loats	1882	Frederick, Md.	Mr. C. Hardt	16	
20	Lutheran	1893	Fremont, Dodge Co., Neb.	Rev. A. Leithaeuser	40
•	Luther	1888	Salem, Va.	Rev. B. W. Cronk	53
59	Mary and Martha	1893	Paulsbo, Kitsap Co., Wash.	Rev. B. A. Borcik	35
20	Martin Luther	1870	W. Roxbury, Boston, Mass.	Rev. F. Wilhelm	46
20	Martin Luther	1892	San Francisco, Cal.	Mrs. S. Craemer	3
26	Martin Luther, Norwegian	1889	Stoughton, Wis.	Mr. Lauritz Theon	63
27	Muscatine, Elizabeth Hershey	1896	Muscatine, Ia.	Rev. H. Reinemund	25

g) ORPHANS' HOME—Concluded.

Synd.	Name.	Founded.	Location.	Superintendent.	Inmates.
* 51	Nachusa Lutheran Orphanage	1893	Nachusa, Ill.	Rev. J. G. M. Hursch	15
* 51	Norwegian Oesterlin's	1890	Beloit, Lyon Co., Iowa	Mr. Th. Gunderson	106
2	St. John's Home	1893	Springfield, Ohio	Rev. S. E. Grenawalt	(7)
33	Swedish Swedish	1864	Sulphur Springs, Buffalo, N. Y.	Mr. Otto Ehlers	55
33	Swedish Swedish	1865	Vasa, Goodhue Co., Minn.	Mr. J. A. Hultgren	51
33	Swedish Swedish	1868	Andover, Henry Co., Ill.	Mr. A. Lincoln	44
33	Swedish Swedish Orph. Home and Indus. School	1880	Cleburne, Kan.	Mr. B. B. Berg	39
33	Tabor	1890	Stanton, Montg. Co., Ia.	Mr. C. G. Lind	36
26	Teller	1886	Joliet, Ill.	Miss Fritta Shelander	72
* 26	Tressler	1868	Syracuse, N. Y.	F. E. Oberlander	30
**	Warthurg	1868	Teller, Alaska	Rev. T. L. Brevig	23
**	Werne	1866	Loverville, Perry Co., Pa.	Mr. Chas. A. Widle	185
4	Wild Rice Orphan's Home	1878	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	Rev. G. C. Berkenmeier, D. D.	210
36	Possum, Minn.	1899	Richmond, Ind.	Rev. G. J. Long	71
				Rev. II. A. Blegen	26
	Total, 46.				2,641

h) HOMES FOR THE AGED, ASYLUMS, ETC.

Synd.	Name.	Founded.	Location.	Superintendent.	Inmates.
29	Aged, Augsburg Home for	1893	746 W. Lex. St., Baltimore, Md.	Mr. Aug. Vogt	15
1	Aged, Asylum for	1859	Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.	Mrs. G. C. Eisenhardt	35
51	Aged, Homme's Home for	1882	Wittenberg, Wis.	20

h) HOMES FOR THE AGED, ASYLUMS, ETC.—Concluded.

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Appendix.

S y n o p s i s	Name.	Founded.	Location.	Inmates.	
				Superintendent.	
29	Aged, Home for, Wartburg.....	1876	Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.....	Mr. Ad. Miller	60
..	Aged, Marie Louise Home	1898	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.....	Rev. G. C. Berkemeyer, D. D.....	16
1	Mary J. Drexel Home for Old People	1889	2100 S. Coll Av., Philadelphia, Pa.	Rev. C. Goedel	39
..	Nat'l Lutheran Home for.....	1896	Washington, D. C.....	Mrs. M. C. Foster	33
4	Aged, St. John's Home for.....	1893	Mars, Pa., Mich.....	Rev. H. J. Schulz	11
20	Aged, Home for, Lutheran.....	1894	Monroe, Mich.....	Mr. A. Grulich.....	50
21	Aged, Home for.....	1883	Arlington Heights, Ill.....	Mr. T. F. Deiner	60
2	Aged, Lutheran Church Home for.....	1896	300 Walden Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.....	Miss Louise E. Kachler	21
27	Aged, Elizabeth Hershey Home for.....	1896	Muscatine, Iowa	Rev. H. Heinemann	7
26	Aged, Norwegian Home for.....	1899	Sluoughton, Wis.....	Rev. M. P. Ruh	34
22	Deaf and Dumb Asylum for.....	1873	North Detroit (Norris), Mich.....	Rev. W. Gielow	30
..	Epileptics, Passavant Memorial.....	1895	Rochester, Pa.....	Rev. F. W. Kohler	46
..	Samaritan Shelter	1895	413 N. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.....	Mr. F. Andreau	10
Total, 16.					515

i) IMMIGRANT AND SEAMEN'S MISSION.

S y n o p s i s	Name.	Founded.	Location.	Inmates.	
				Superintendent.	
36	Immigrant Mission, Danish	1878	193 9th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.....	Rev. R. Andersen	(7)
..	Immigrant Mission, Finnish	1887	15 Broadway, New York, N. Y.....	Rev. Alfred Groning	200
8	Immigrant Mission, German	1873	12 State Street, New York, N. Y.....	Rev. G. Doering	5,767
20	Immigrant Mission, German	1869	8 State St., New York, N. Y.....	Rev. S. Key	4,077
20	Immigrant Mission, German .....	....	500 N. Gay St., Baltimore, Md.....	Mr. H. Steurken	408

i) IMMIGRANT AND SEAMEN'S MISSIONS -- Concluded.

Syndicate	Name	Founded	Location	Superintendent	Inmates
26	Immigrant Mission, Norwegian	1870	8 State St., New York, N. Y.	Rev. E. Petersen	1,440
33	Immigrant Mission, Swedish	1805	5 Water St., New York, N. Y.	Rev. A. B. Lila	2,000
33	Immigrant Mission, Swedish	1878	28 Lexington Ave., Boston, Mass.	Rev. C. W. Andeer	(7)
33	Scandinavia Seamen's Mission	1878	101 William St., Brooklyn, N. Y.	Rev. Jacob Castberg	(7)
33	Scandinavia Sailor's Home	1889	172 Carroll St., Brooklyn, N. Y.	Mr. Hans Osmundsen	70
33	Seamen's Mission, Norwegian	1876	Quebec, Can., and Pensacola, Fla.	Rev. G. Farman	(7)
Total, 11.					12,965

k) DEACONESS INSTITUTIONS.

Syndicate	Name	Founded	Location	Superintendent	Inmates
1	M. J. Drexel Deaconess Motherhouse	1888	2100 S. Coll. Av., Philadelphia, Pa.	Rev. C. Goedel, Pastor	76
51	Deaconess Norwegian Home	1893	Haddon Ave. and Leavitt St., Chicago, Ill.	Rev. H. B. Kildahl	24
33	Deaconess Institute, Immigrant Deaconess Motherhouse	1860	Omaha, Neb.	Rev. E. A. Fogelstrom	30
33	Deaconess Motherhouse	1894	Milwaukee, Wis.	Rev. H. L. Fritschel	24
33	Deaconess Motherhouse	1895	2610 W. North Av., Baltimore, Md.	Rev. H. D. Chas.	26
33	Deaconess Inst. (Norwegian)	1882	4th Ave. and 46th St., Brooklyn	Sister Math. Madland	12
59	Deaconess Inst. (Norwegian)	1888	1417 E. 23rd St., S. Minneapolis, Minn.	Ingeborg Spornland	40
51	Deaconess Home (Norwegian)	1902	Northwood, Grand Forks Co., North Dakota	Rev. J. N. Johansen	(7)
33	Deaconess Home, Bethesda	1902	254 E. 10th St., St. Paul, Minn.	Rev. C. A. Holtkraus	4
Total, 9.					238

1) HOSPITALS.

Name.	Location.	Superintendent.	Numbered
Hospital, Passavant Memorial	E. State St., Jacksonville, Ill.	Rev. H. L. Fritschel	390
Hospital, Augusta	151 Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Ill.		1508
Hospital, Bethesda	349 E. 9th St., St. Paul, Minn.	Rev. C. V. Hultkrans	641
Hospital, Passavant Memorial	192 E. Superior St., Chicago, Ill.	Rev. H. L. Fritschel	945
Hospital, Children's	Mary J. Prexel Home, Philadelphia, Pa.	Magdalene Steinmann	446
51 Hovne	1903 Omaha, Neb.	Rev. E. A. Fogelstrom	338
33 Hospital, Immanuel	O Ave. and Potomac St., St. Louis, Mo.	Rev. G. Wangerin	323
20 Hospital, Lutheran	East N. Y. Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.	Mr. Ernest C. Huebel	53
20 Hospital, Lutheran	1882 LaCrosse, Wis.	Rev. H. L. Fritschel	687
... Hospital, Milwaukee	1902 Milwaukee, Wis.	Rev. H. L. Schuh	800
4 Hospital, St. John's	1863 Allegheny, Pa.	Rev. H. W. Roth, D. D.	1125
6 Infirmary, Hospital, Passavant Memorial	1896 Pittsburgh, Pa.		
6 Infirmary, Luth. Eye, Ear, Throat	1849 Cor. 14th and N. Sus., Washington, D. C.	W. K. Butler, M. D.	1481
20 Hospital, Lutheran	1896 Franklin Circle, Cleveland, Ohio	Mrs. Clara Mueller	18
... Hospital, Norwegian	1887 4th Ave. and 46th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.		
51 Hospital, Norwegian	1890 Zumbrota, Minn.	Miss Mathilde Madland	883
4 Hospital, St. John	1901 Springfield, Minn.	Rev. L. M. Bjorn	7
4 Hospital, St. Luke	1891 Grand Forks, North Dakota	Rev. L. Geo. Apfel	20
51 Hospital, St. Olaf	1896 Lansing Ave., Austin, Minn.	Rev. V. F. Hulteng	256
21 Hospital, Lutheran	1897 Springfield, Ill.	Mr. L. F. Clausen	100
		Miss H. E. Hansen	35
			10,243

Total, 21.

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